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MALIYADIKKURICHI PANDYA CAVE-TEMPLE AND INSCRIPTIONS A GLIMPSE INTO RELIGIOUS HISTORY (8TH CENTURY A.D)

K.R.Srinivasan

Malaiyaḍikkuṟichi located deep in the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam has a unique cave-temple [1] and an interesting foundation inscription in it, which was discovered and brought to light by me in 1957 (*ARE* 1959-60: 358).[2] It has proved to be the earliest Pandya lithic record so far known with the King named and regnal year indicated; and what is more, the Tamil inscription is inscribed in the Tamil-*grantha* script, as against all the early Pāṇḍya records known which are in *vaṭṭeluttu*, for instance the recently discovered Vaigai bed stone inscription of the 7th century of the 15th year of Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ (*EI* XXXII:4).

In essentials the plan and form of this cave-temple is of the *maṇḍapa* temple type of the Mahēndravarmaṉ style. It is excavated into the eastern face of one arm of the rock, overlooking a shallow sloping horse-shoe shaped valley, between the arms of the rock. Instead of giving a full architectural description, it will suffice here to highlight only its most interesting features.

The two facade pillars and the two extreme pilasters with top and basal *sadurams* and intervening octagonal *Kaṭṭu* are unique. They have on top of the basal *saduram* at the point of the emergence of *kaṭṭu*, a *padmabhanda* band of two seriate lotus petals, a feature not seen elsewhere. The lower *sadurams* are devoid of the usual circular lotus medallion reliefs. But the upper *sadurams* of the pillars on their front and lateral faces, and of the pilasters on their full lateral faces have varied medallion designs, some of them like those found in the other Pāṇḍya cave-temple pillars, circular lotus medallions with figure sculpture at the centre as small vignettes, or of the scroll *(koḍikkarukku)* type with *haṁsas*, *makaras* or mere sunflower motifs at the centre surrounded by a vegetal scroll of foliage and a ridge all round.[3] The front and hind faces of the pilasters have half medallions on their upper *sadurams*. These are highly individualistic features and the figure inside the medallions do not recall any deity of the Hindu pantheon. The figure in the torus of the flower on the front face of the northern pillar is a four-armed seated figure, holding a *cāmara* each in the upper two. While the lower right and left are in *abhaya* and *varada* poses. The corresponding one on the front face of the southern pillar is a youthful figure in the nude, two armed--seated on a couch and reclining by his right on a pillow and holding out something

by the left hand. There are two *cāmaras* above his head, one on either side, indicating his divinity or royalty.

The *potika* 'corbel' is more unique in that the two lateral arms of each over the pillars and single ones over the pilasters while having the usual curved profile exhibit not the usual roll moulding, *taranga*, but a series of four double-involute curves of decreasing size from base to the top, approximating the Chāḷukyan forms.

The rectangular east facing *maṇḍapa* ceiling, has beams running round all the edges inside, the two lateral ones entering into the larger main *uttira* over the facade pillars and pilasters.

The shrine front at the rear of the *maṇḍapa* has a moulded base or *adhiṣṭhāna* the members from bottom to top being the *upāna*, recessed and vertical *jagati* a circularly moulded torus or *vritta kumuda* (in contrast to the usually three facetted or *tripaṭṭa kumuda* of the early period elsewhere), recessed neck or *kaṇṭha* and the platform slab on top *paṭṭika*, and over it and unlike all the contemporary examples, has a *vedi* consisting of a recessed *gala*, with a second *paṭṭika* on top, on which the pilasters of the shrine wall are carved as set. The sill of the narrow shrine entrance is cut down into the top members of the *adhiṣṭhāna* to the level of the *jagati* which forms the still proper, but on either side below the *dvārapāla* niches, the *adhiṣṭhāna* is complete, again a peculiar feature (as in the Tirumalpuram cave-temple in same district). The half moon shaped *candra-sila* step on the floor in front is found covered by a limestone step.

The *dvārapālas*, one on either side of the shrine entrance, are totally chipped off and defaced, but the extant outlines show that they were two-armed ones in the usual poses, indicating an early date.

The two exposed areas of the *maṇḍapa* rear wall on either side of the shrine front had large relief sculputres, likewise defaced and erased. The one on the north in a wide niche over a moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* and framed by two pilasters which are extant, indicates by its faint outlines a four-armed divine rider on an elephant, while the two *cāmaras*, one on either side at the top corners, have been left intact. The corresponding niche on the south has lost both its base and the framing pilasters as also the sculpture totally and contains a later Pāṇḍyan inscription to be noticed in the sequel. The rider on the elephant and the corresponding but totally erased panel on the other side are strongly reminiscent of a similar grouping of a four armed Goddess riding a lion, with bows and arrows, and other weapons opposing a rider on an elephant holding sword and shield as in the Seṭṭipodavu cave at Samaṇarmalai near Madurai.

The shrine entrance is framed by a *makara tōraṇa* over-door forming the *mukavaṇai* or *mukapaṭṭi* with a Gajalakṣmī figure at the centre of the crest on top.[4] The *makaras* have *gaṇa* riders on them.

On top over the beam line of the architrave of the shrine front are exhibited the cut front sections of the linear cross beams as in the wood work arche-type exhibited

likewise in a few cases elsewhere, e.g. Pēchchipārai and Tirumalpuram in the same district.

The almost square shrine cell has smoothly finished floor ceilings and walls which are devoid of any sculpture; but the hind wall has the remains of plaster indicating the principal deity in worship to have been a wall painting as was the vogue in the almost contemporary and earlier Śaṅgam times (Srinivasan 1960 & 1964). Nor is there any bas relief sculpture of Somāskanda, Umāmaheśvara or other gods as in the later Pallava and Pāṇḍya cave temples of Hindu origin.[5]

There is also no rock-cut *āvuḍaiyār* with *liṅga* on the centre of the shrine floor as is characteristic of other Pāṇḍya cave-temples dedicated to Śiva, nor is there the pit cut into the floor on the north below the spout of the *āvudaiyār* or image pedestal to receive and collect the *abhisēka* water etc., as is characteristic of Pāndyan cave-temples dedicated to Śiva and other Gods.[6] But there is a separate set of *liṅga* and *āvuḍaiyār* installed at the centre of the floor, since the temple is still in worship. The *āvuḍaiyār* square as in early examples, has all the mouldings as prescribed in the texts on Śilpa and *āgama*.

The old Tamil inscription in Tamil *grantha* script complete in three lines states that "the sacred stone temple *(kaltirukōyil)* was got made by Sāttan̠ Ēran̠ Sēvūrkiḻān̠, alias Pāṇḍimaṅgalavadiarasan̠ in the 17th year after the accession to the throne of the king Māran̠ Sēndan̠ and in accordance with his bidding".[7]

The term *Karrirukkoyil (kaltirukkōyil)* appears to be more archaic than the name *Karrali*, or *tali*, that is more usual,[8] and its usage is significant as denoting a pioneer work of the kind, even as the famous Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave-temple inscription in Sanskrit of Pallava Mahēndravarman̠ I (A.D. 580-630) which proclaims the creation by the king of his first cave temple for the Trinity, without the employment of the traditional building materials brick, timber, metal and mortar. Our inscription, also in characters of the 7th century A.D. however, does not refer to the specific credal dedication -- Hindu or Jaina. The architectural and other features indicate the same dating leading to the identification of the Pāṇḍya king Māran̠ Sēndan̠ of the inscription with Sēndan̠, the third in the Vēlvikkuḍi Copper plate list, who ruled between c.A.D. 654 and 670, the 17th year of the present inscription coinciding with the last year of his reign.

II

An examination of the internal evidences in the cave-temple set forth above, particularly the vignette sculptures on the facade pillars, the lions facing in at the base of the shrine-front pilasters, traces of painted plaster on the hind wall of the shrine chamber in the absence of even a wall relief of the principal deity in that place, absence of rock-cut *āvudaiyār-liṅga* combination and the collecting pit on the floor of the *sanctum*, or of even an original channel as water outlet, the cutting down of the sill into the top tiers of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, the covering over of the *candrasila* step by a lime stone block, the defacement of the *maṇḍapa* wall sculptures and *dvarapalas*,

and the erasure of the plinth and framing pilasters of the southern niche, where the later Pāṇḍya inscription is subsquently engraved, and the extant remnants of the defaced sculptures and their outlines, would all indicate that the temple which was of Jaina dedication as originally excavated and completed was, with all the above modifications and erasures, converted into a Śiva temple, by the installation in the shrine of a *liṅga* on an *āvuḍaiyār* subsquently.

The later Pāṇḍya Tamil inscription in characters of the 12th century is of the 3rd regnal year of the Pāṇḍya Māṛavarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartikaḷ Śrī Vallabha Dēvar with the eulogy commencing with the words pūmagaḷ Jayamagaḷ (*ARE*: 1915: 607) records the gifts of land made according to Royal order to the God of the temple called Pinakkarukkum Mahadevar of Malaiyaḍikkuṟichi which was the southern hamlet of Śrī Parāntaka-Caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēyam* village in Arināḍu. Among the boundary details specified are mentioned a channel called Vīrapāṇḍiyaṉ pilāṟu, and an irrigation tank called Mānābharaṇapēr-ēri.

The internal evidences in this 12th century inscription help us to fix within narrower limits the time of conversion of the temple into a Śiva temple. The inscription is dated in the 3rd year (A.D.1135) of Māṛavarmaṉ Śrī Vallabha who ascended the throne in A.D.1132. The conversion was certainly prior to this last limiting date. The name of the god Piṇakkarukkum Mahādēvar (Piṇakkuttīrtta Nāyaṉār) recalls the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* story of poet Iḍaikkāḍaṉār, a contemporary of Kapilar and predecessor of the Jaina grammarian, Amitasāgarar, of the 10th century, to whose work Amitasāgara refers in his *Yāpparuṅgala virutti* in the context of certain enunciations.[9]

According to that *purāṇam*, Śiva, the Lord of Madurai, got the name, Piṇakkuttīrttavar or Pinakkaṟuttavar, since he settled or composed the disagreement or disputation *piṇakku* between Iḍaikkāḍaṉār and the Pāṇḍya king. The story is too well known to be recounted here. This would take the event of conversion of our cave-temple and the naming of the God so, to a period after Iḍaikkāḍaṉār, and also the more tangible 17th year of Māṛaṉ Sēndaṉ, corresponding to A.D.670. In the time bracket A.D.670 and 1135, the later limit may thus be brought to the 10th century and earlier. The names Parāntaka-Caturvēdimaṅgalam and the tenure cognomen *brahmadēyam* indicating the settlement of a large brāhmaṇa community of scholars versed in the four *Vedas* and the free gift of lands to them would lead us to infer the reconstitution and enlargement of the village (perhaps to the exclusion of the Jaina settlers and holdings) in the time of the early Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka who can possibly be Māṟaṉ Saḍaiyaṉ *alias* Parāntaka Neḍuñcaḍiyaṉ[10] who ruled between A.D.768 and 815. The absence of the usual formula *paḷḷiccandamum paḷam dēvadāṇam nīkki,* etc., in Śrī Vallabha's inscription, would mean that it was already a full *brahmadēya* with a *sabha* in authority, since the time of Parāntaka, and that Śrī Vallabha only added to its extent. The Vīra Pāṇḍya, after whom the *pilāṟu* 'channel' is named would be the same as Cōḷaṉtalai-koṇḍa Vīra Pāṇḍya, who was the immediate

successor, after A.D.920, of Māravarman Rājasiṁha II (A.D.905-920) Mānabharana after whom the *pēr-eri* (large irrigation tank) is named, too, was one of the Pāṇdya princes who lived in the 10th century, and the title Mānabharanan, occurring in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Saḍaiyan Māran is taken as the surname of the King Rājasiṁha himself (*SII* XIV Introductions). If the *Brahmadēyam* centered round the cave-temple, as it should have done, the Śaiva or Hindu conversion should have been earlier than the 10th century A.D. and earlier than A.D.815, the last year of Parāntaka.

Incidently, the name Piṇakkuaṟukkum Mahādēvar of the Śivaliṅga installed, would recall the *piṇakkutīrtta* incident as narrated in the *Tiruviḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam* in which the poet and grammarian, Iḍaikkāḍanār, figures as the person, who had a *piṇakku* with the Pāṇḍya king for slighting him, and which was composed and agreement brought about by the intervention of Lord Somāskanda, the presiding deity of Madurai. Iḍaikkāḍanār was a contemporary of Kapilar and predecessor of the Jaina grammarian Amitasāgarar of the 10th century, who refers to Iḍaikkāḍanār's work *Ucimuri*.The appellation *Piṇakkaṟukkum* is to be found also in the name of a person figuring in an inscription of Kō-Iḷaṅgō Muttaraiyar in the Uttamanātha (Uttamadani) temple in Kīranūr, Pudukkōṭṭai district (*IPS*, 237) of the late 9th and early 10th centuries. The naming of the installed Śivaliṅga as Piṇakkaṟukkum Mahādēvar, must therefore be after the similar appellation that the God of Madurai got in the context of the *piṇakkuttīrtta* episode of the *purāṇam* and such a name was in current use even in the late 9th *century for the Śiva in some temples* and many persons were named after such gods.

This evidence would thus further *narrow down* the date of the conversion of the temple to a period prior to the end of the 9th century A.D. and subsequent to the foundation date of the temple, that is A.D.670. This year incidentally was the last regnal year of Māran Sēndan who had ordered the excavation that was completed also for the inscription to be inscribed and who was succeeded *in that year by Arikēsari* Māravarman (A.D.670-700). Arikēsari was the same king in whose reign the Vaigai river bed stone inscription in *Vatteluttu* has come to us recently. Though he is often identified with the Kūn Pāṇḍiyan who was converted from Jainism to Śaivism by Saint Sambandar (according to the *Periyapurāṇam*), he may be identified from other evidences with Māravarman Rājasiṁha I (A.D. 730-68) (Venkataraman 1973:65-70).

The conversion of the Malaiyadikkuṟichi *Jaina Cave-temple* into the Piṇakkaṟakkum Mahādēva temple must, therefore, have been in the elan, that was the aftermath of the discomfiture of the Jainas in Madurai that was for a long time their stronghold and the royal conversion that is in the middle of the 8th century, a century or so after its completion. This is again echoed in the abrupt cessation of work in the Pēchchippārai jaina cave-temple, that was currently being excavated; for, judging from its style, architecture and sculpture this incomplete *cave-temple* would belong to the early 8th century.

The social and religious milieu

inaugurated by the advent of Sambandar to Madurai, and the king's conversion, in the last quarter of the 7th century, had indeed its effect on the curtailment of Jaina enterprise in rock-architecture in the Pāṇḍya country, in contrast to the hectic activity for over two centuries in that mode of temple making mostly for Śiva and a few other Gods of the Hindu pantheon. Out of nearly 60 rock-cut cave temples in the Pāndyan area, only a very few, less than half a dozen, could be counted as still continuing to be Jaina, or having been originally Jaina. We may note here the solitary exception of the Arivar Kōvil in Sittaṉṉavāsal, in the more secure northern limits of the then Pāṇḍyan empire, which with its famous paintings of the 9th century, has survived till today, though long deserted even by the Jains after the 12th century or so.[11]

This movement of creating more and more cave-temples for Śiva and other gods of the Hindu sects appears to have been mainly in two forms. One was the conversion of pre-existing Jaina cave-temples as in the case of Malaiyaḍikkuṟichi, and the other the creation of new cave-temples at the sites, nay, on the very hills which were pre-eminently Jaina resorts, for centuries before, from the years B.C. often. These are the places with natural caverns *(amaṇpāḷi)* with polished beds dripline and Tamil-Brahmi and old Tamil inscriptions -- the *Panca Pāṇḍavarguhai* or *paḍukkai* as they are often called, and other Jaina antiquities. This was perhaps calculated to take advantage of the established popularity of the place as a *tīrtha* or religious resort and pilgrim centre and at the same time minimize, if not altogether nullify, the Jaina influence in that area. The best known among many such places would be Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam, Āṉaimalai, Piḷḷaiyārpaṭṭi etc., while in Anaimalai the cave-temple for Nṛsiṁha was excavated by a Pāṇḍya minister in A.D.770, in the time of Māraṉ Saḍaiyan *alias* Parāntaka Neḍuñcaḍaiyaṉ *(SII* XIV Introduction), the adjacent Lāḍaṉkōvil cave-temple was, according to its inscription *(SII* XIV: 98) a *pudukku* 'renovation' perhaps of an earlier Jain sanctuary in the late 8th or early 9th century. The main cave-temple on the northern side of the hill at Tirupparankunram, now celebrated as the Subrahmanya temple, with later additions of *mandapas* and *gopura* appears to have been likewise remodelled into a combined temple for Śiva, Visnu and Durgā, in the three *sanctum* cells cut respectively into either side walls and the rear wall of the rectangular rock-cut *maṇḍapa* additionally with sculptures of Ganesa and Subrahmaṇya on either side of the Durgā shrine, projected into the *maṇḍapa* by excavating on either side of it into the original rear wall, in the recesses. The relevant inscriptions in Tamil and Sanskrit attribute this to another Pāṇḍya minister and his wife, under the same Māṟaṉ Saḍaiyaṉ in A.D.773 *(SII* XIV: 3). The reading is *Sāttaṉ Gaṇavati tiruttuvittadu tirukkōyilum, Śrī taṭākamun itannulaṟa mulḷadum.* The terms *tiruttuvittadu* and *itanuḷ aṟa nulḷadum* are significant meaning 're-modelled or converted and that of whatever there is within'. The Umaiyāṇḍar cave temple on the southern side of the same hill was also of the same category, remodelled with a rough Ardhanārī sculpture on the rear wall of the *sanctum*, and later relief sculptures on the wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front and on either side of the rockface flanking the *maṇḍapa* facade.

The Pillaiyarpatti cave-temple of Tiruvingaichchura Mahādēvar, has an old Tamil label inscription which is not a foundation inscription, but merely the name of some person. There is the Jaina cavern with beds on the hill called Kunramēḍu, with another label inscription with the letters and writing in the laterally reverse order (*ARE* 1935-36, para 45). This would be another example of this category, the association furnishing evidence to the date of the cave-temple and its conversion. The Samaṇar Kuḍagu in Nārttamalai converted into a Viṣṇu cave-temple of Kariyamāṇikka Āḻvār or Padinen-bhumi Viṇṇagaram, is flanked by a later Śiva-cave temple--the Paḷiyili Iccuvaram excavated earlier and called so in the year of Nṛpatuṅga Pallava, of the cave cell type familiar in the Pāṇḍyan country, with another of the same type with rock-cut *liṅga* and *āvuḍaiyār*, under water in the tarn (*suṇai*) to the north of the Vijayālayacōḻīśvaram, structural temple built opposite the Samaṇar Kudagu and incidentally indicating though indirectly the date of its conversion. A similar underwater cave-cell with rock-cut *liṅga* and *āvuḍaiyār* has been excavated into the Navachchuṇai tarn, to the north of the Jaina natural cavern called Ēḻadippaṭṭam in Sittaṇṇavāsal. We have the classical example of the Veṭṭuvāṇkōvil, the ***ratha like monolith of the Pāṇḍyas in addition to the Kaḻukāchala-mūrti*** rock-cut cave temple, one on either side of the Jaina cavern and sculptures in Kaḻu-gumalai near Ettayapuram ·

Instances like these can be multiplied, but be it said that such a seemingly deliberate choice of the venue of rock-cut cave temples of the Hindu persuasion of the time of Pallava Mahēndra I, in well-known Jaina tīrthas or resorts of antiquity are to be seen in the earlier century in the Pallava country of Toṇḍaimaṇḍa-lam too, for example those in Māmaṇ-ḍūr, Dalavanur, Siyamaṅgalam, Tiruch-chīrāpaḷḷi (upper caye-temple) the last on the Pallava-Pāṇḍya border. Thus it would be a case of history repeating itself in the Pāṇḍya country, after the advent there of Saint Sambandar in the first half of the 8th century and the conversion of the Pāṇḍya, and getting reflected in the creations of religious architecture, art and sculpture contemporaneously and subsequently too, for as long as the momentum lasted.

NOTES

1. It is a small village adjoining Dārukāpura, in the Saṅkaraṇkōvil taluk of Tirunelvēli district, 7 miles from Saṅkaranayiṇārkōil, on a branch road taking off from Nagaram to Dārukāpura, at the 5th mile stone. The cave temple is reported as in Dārukāpura, by the Epigraphists who visited it in 1915-See Nos. 607 and 607 of *ARE*, 1916, p.60. The place is also found included in J.Dubreuil's unpublished list of cave temples. The two inscriptions copied in 1915 are late Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the 12th century. There is no description of the cave temple.

2. Not yet published in full by the Epigraphist. Because of the unusual location of the inscription and the heavy coat of white-wash covering it, it seems to have escaped the notice of the epigraphists and scholars till its ultimate discovery in 1957.

3. Medallion decorations of this type with variations are to be found in such Pāṇḍya cave-temples as the Varanachchimalai cave-temple in Tirumalapuram, and in the Pallava cave-temple (upper Rock-cut cave) on the hill at Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi, the southernmost Pallava Mahēndra example bordering on the then Pāṇḍya empire, and again in Siyamaṅgalam, on the Pallava border with the Gangas and Chāḷukyas indicating local affinities.

4. Such a *tōraṇa* is to be found in the Pāṇḍya cave temple in Tirukkōlakkuḍi, Rāmanāthapuram district.

5. Besides Pallava cave-temples in Māmallapuram, the Pāṇḍyan ones are those in Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam (main cave temple and Umaiyāṇḍar temple) and Pirānmalai and Tirumalai (Rāmanathapuram District), Malaikkoḻundīśvaran, Lāḍaṉ Kōvil, Āṉaimalai (Madurai District), Nṛsiṁha cave, Āṉaimalai etc.

6. Such collecting pits are not to be found in the Pallava cave-temples, but besides in the Pāṇḍya ones, they occur in some of the Cāḷukyan cave-temples and in the early structural temples on the Diang plateau in central Java (Indonesia) - See my article on Diang in *Kalaikkalanjiyam*, Madras, Vol.X, pp.288-90.

7. *Śrī Kōmāraṉ Sēndaṉ koṟṟamuṟṟit tiru virācciyañ cellā niṉṟatu patiṉēḻāka avaṉ paṇiyāl pāṇdimaṅkala vati aracaṉ cēvūr-kiḻāṉ cāttaṉēṟaṉ ceyvitta kaṟṟiṟuk kōyil.*

8. The Āṉaimalai cave-temple inscription of Māraṉ Kāri has *k a ṟ ṟ a ḷ i* (*SII* XIV:2). The Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi cave-temple inscription (*IPS* 18) in Pudukkōṭṭai, Tiruchi, has *taḷi*, and the Nārttamalai cave-temple inscription (*IPS:* 19) Nṛpatuṅga Pallava's time has *Sri-koyil*. The term *kaṟṟaḷi (kal-taḷi)* came to be used for structural all-stone temples also subsequently.

9. *Oḻintaṉa Iḍaikkāḍaṉār pāḍiya vucimuriyut kaṇḍu alakiṭṭukkoḷka.*

10. The other Parāntaka Pāṇḍya who would come within our period was Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa who ruled between A.D.860 and 905, and it is unlikely that he was the author of the Caturvēdimaṅgalam, as other evidences would show.

11. Regarding the vicissitudes of the Sittaṉṉavāsal *pāḷi* and Rock-cut cave-temple, please see Srinivasan (1982 & 1984).

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KĀÑCHI AND THE CULTURAL EFFLORESCENCE OF ASIA

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KĀÑCHI: THE EUPHORIA OF ASIA

A French poet reflects:
O, mes chemins et leur cadence.
"Oh, my roads and their cadence".

Wherever are my roads, their cadence is Kanchi. The Annals of Han China speak of Kanchi. The dances of the languid climes of Thailand and Kampuchea become alive in the performances of Maṇimekhala. The inscriptions, palmleaf manuscripts and geography of Indonesia retain poignant memories of the glories of Kanchi. It is a city that stands in the heart of Asia, in the cathedrals of her silence. It is the solemn geography of human transcendence: the metropolis of Esoteric Buddhism, of Buddhist mantrāyana. Where did I lose you, my trampled fantasies? in Kanchi. Kanchi is a concentrated universe, a dynamised centre, far beyond time. *Mekhala*, Kanchi, *Oḍḍiyāṇam* (the Tamil word for *kāñci* 'girdle') take us to the deeps to dream, to lose ourselves in the distant corridors of etymology, looking for treasures in words, riches of lost historic events and phenomena.

As Gaṅgā was sacrosanct among rivers, so was Kanchi economically affluent and spiritually vibrant among the metropolitan cities of Classical India. She was one of the seven sacred cities:

Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñcī Avantikā/
purī Dvāravatī caiva saptaitā mokṣadāyikāḥ/

The prosperity of Kanchi, due to maritime trade, can be gleaned from Chinese historical works. Prof. Chin Khemu in his short history of the friendship of China and India (Peking 1984) speaks of historical contacts between China and Kanchi in the 1st century B.C., as evidenced by the Han Annals. These Annals of the Han Dynasty relate as to how Chinese ships left the shores of Kwang-chou and Haenan, journeyed for an year on the seas crossing several cities, and finally reached Hwang-chi or Kanchi for the purchase of large pearls and jewels. The contacts with Kanchi had commenced in the reign of Emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.). This is the first reference to marine contacts between India and China. In the first century A.D., the usurper Wang-mang tried to get a rhinoceros from Kanchi. Rhinoceros horn is an aphrodisiac.

The kingdom of Kanchi must have been in touch with the Western world, as the Sangam classics *Silappatikāram* (5:10) and *Maṇimēkhalai* (19: 107) speak of the residences of Yavanas whose prosperity was never on the wane, and of Yavana carpenters.

Maṇimekhala in Southeast Asia

Puhār (Kāvēripaṭṭanam), Vañji and Kāñchi formed an economic, political and cultural triangle, interlinked by constant communications and incessant travel. Maṇimēkhala, the heroine of the classic of the same name, is the issue of a tragic love affair between a merchant and a dancing girl. She is the ideal of chastity, charity and faith. She lives at Puhār the port of Kāvēri, situated at the mouth of this river, which was one of the great marts between India and East Asia since the time of Ptolemy at the end of the 2nd century A.D., and which remained such even in the time of Cosmas (6th century A.D.) and was destroyed in the 15th century A.D. by the silting up of the river. Maṇimēkhala then goes to Vanji (now called Karūr), thereafter to Kanchi a prominent seat of Buddhist culture. Famine was revaging the place. She visits the great temple raised in the centre of the city where there was a Bodhi tree of gold with leaves of emerald and she asks the king to construct at Kanchi a replica of the sacred seat of Maṇipallavam, and a temple of Maṇimēkhala and celebrate periodical festivities. Her temple, her cult and her festivities became renowned at Kanchi.

Mêkhala means 'the girdle, belt'. So does *kāñci* 'a girdle (especially a woman's zone or girdle furnished with small bells and other ornaments)' MW. Kanchi is so-called because it is at the 'navel' of the earth. *Kāñci-mahātmya* (31.70) and *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* (11.6, 13.73) speak of Kanchi as the navel of the world:

ādhibhautikam aṁhoghnaṁ nābhi-sthānaṁ bhuvaḥ param (Kāmākṣī-vilāsa 11.6) jagat-kāma-kalākaraṁ nābhi-sthānam bhuvaḥ param (ibid. 13.73)

Śivañāṇa-muṇivar in his *Kāñci-purāṇa* refers to Kanchi as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her garment and who shines as the Supreme *ākāśa*. Could Mekhala have been the city goddess of Kanchi, just as Athena Nike was the goddess of the city of Athens? "The *yoginis* Manibhadra, Mekhalā, Kanakhalā and Lakṣmīkarā were objects of devotion for five generations of King Kuñji's descendants" (Robinson 1979:21). Can Kuñji (var.Kunci) be a variant of Kāñci?

Maṇi in Maṇi-mekhala refers to the overflowing riches of Kanchi where the Chinese used to come to trade in jewels and pearls as early as the second century B.C., as seen above. It is interesting to note that the word *maṇi-mekhala* 'girdle with gems' occurs only in the Ṛtusaṁhāra of Kāḷidāsa, according to MW. Kāḷidāsa refers to Dinnāga who was an inhabitant of Kanchi. Legends connect him to Kanchi: could he have been associated with Kanchi? A point to investigate. As overseas trade enhanced the prosperity of Kanchi, it was a logical step that Mekhala became Maṇi-mekhala the deity of seafarers, the Goddess of the Seas in South East Asia. The memories of Kanchi in Kampuchea are ancient: Kancipura is mentioned in the Tan Kran Inscription of Jayavarman I in the 7th century A.D. (Coedes 7.245). To our day, Maṇi-mekhala, the Guardian Deity of the Sea, has lived on in the life and daily practices of Kampuchea. She dazzles Paraśurāma with her jewel. After their fight, Maṇi-mekhala goes back to the sea. This is the tale from which a ballet has been

drawn, and was performed at the court of Kampuchea. It was given at the festival held at Pnom-Penh on the opening of the Buddhist Institute in May 1930. Earlier, it had been performed in December 1929 to honour the Mahāraja of Kapurthala on the occasion of his visit to the royal court of Kampuchea.

The Thai *Rāmāyaṇa*, composed anew in the reign of King Rāma I, (1783-1809), says that Maṇimekhala is the goddess of the sea and lives in a palace studded with gems.

In the chronicles of Śrīlaṅkā it is told how Vihāradevī, the mother of the Sinhalese national hero Duṭṭhagamini, was offered by her father as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of the sea-gods, and how she was safely brought by the goddess Maṇimekhala across the sea to Magama where she found her future husband (Levi 1937:389).

Thus Maṇimekhala should have been the City Goddess of Kanchi, later she came to be the Goddess of the Seas in an era of flourishing trans-national commercial relations, and finally the heroine of the edifying Tamil classic that goes by her name, wherein the deity is her guardian angel.

Kanchi, the Transmitter of Zen

The kingdom of Kanchi became a legend in East Asia, as her prince carried Dhyāna (Ch'an/Zen) Buddhism to China. Bodhidharma was the youngest son of the King of Kanchi (Hsiang-chih) and a follower of Prajñātāra's eminent line. Palmleaves inscribed by Prajñātāra have survived in Japan (Raghu Vira/Lokesh Chandra 1965:s7). Bodhidharma reached China early in the 6th century A.D. after long peregrinations. He had an audience with the noted patron of Buddhism, Emperor Liang Wu-ti (502-550) of South China. He pointed out to the Emperor the futility of establishing monasteries, copying *sūtras* and supporing monks. The historicity of Bodhidharma has been controversial. The first mention of Kanchi (Hsiang-chih) is in 'The Record of the Transmission of the lamp', compiled in A.D. 1002. The Ch'an tradition says that their doctrine was transmitted by an uninterrupted succession of twentyeight Indian patriarchs, from Mahākāśyapa, the disciple of the Buddha, to Bodhidharma who brought it to China. Bodhidharma handed down the doctrine to Hui-k'o (traditional dates: A.D.487-593), and from him through four other Chinese patriarchs; to Hui-neng (A.D. 639-716). Bodhidharma finally transmitted the "Seal of Mind" to Hui-k'o, who had cut off his arm to express the deep sincerity of his resolve. In the Kozanji ink scroll of the Six Patriarchs of the Bodhidharma lineage, Hui-k'o kneels down in front of him. Blood gushes forth from the stump of his left arm, and the knife and the cut-off arm lie next to him on the ground. According to late accounts, Bodhidharma crossed the Yangtze on a reed, and spent nine years in meditation in front of a rock wall at the Saho-lin-ssu monastery on Mount Sung in the state of Northern Wei.

Bodhidharma had said that Tao-fu had acquired the skin, the nun Tsung-ch'ih the flesh, and Tao-yu the bone, and that Huik'o had penetrated into the marrow (the essence) of the doctrine. Like this statement, mist surrounds the evolution of the legend of Bodhidharma, which is as controversial as he himself must have been

in life. The tradition is consistent in pointing out that he was a prince of Kanchi. His association with Tamil-speaking Kanchi is confirmed by the Japanese form of his name: Bodai-daruma, shortened to Daruma. The Tamil form is Bodi-daruma: a modern painting at the Kanchi Seminar on Dhyana and Tantric Buddhism held on 10-15 March 1986, had the caption *Bodi-daruma.* The Japanese name *Daruma* goes back to an ancient popular name of the master. Moreover, the tradition that the doctrine was trasnmitted from Mahākāśyapa to Bodhidharma seems to have a basis. It seems that the modern Kacchapeśvara Temple at Kanchi was a Buddhist *sanctum* in ancient times dedicated to Mahākāśyapa the first patriarch of Dhyāna Buddhism. To this day there are a few Buddhist sculptures in this temple. The tradition of twentyeight patriarchs of Dhyāna Buddhism should be of Indian origin.

Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra is one of the three basic scriptures of Zen:

1. *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*
2. *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*
3. Hymn to *Nīlakantha Lokeśvasra*

The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* was translated for the first time into Chinese by Dharmarakṣa between A.D. 412-433. It is lost. Three tranlations are extant.

A.D.	Translated by	
412-433	Dharmarakṣa	Lost
443	Guṇabhadra of Central India	K159,Nj175
513	Bodhiruci of Northern India	K160,Nj176
704	Śikṣānanda of Khotan	K161,Nj177

It must have been a widely prevalent text in the 5th century A.D. as we have two Chinese translations from this period. It continued in vogue in later centuries, as there are new translations from the 6th and 8th centuries. Bodhidharma's school took Guṇabhadra's translations as its scripture, as it was the only available version at the time of Bodhidharma.

The "Record of the succession of the Dharma-treasure", a history of Zen Buddhism discovered from the Tun-huang Caves, insists that the first patriarch of the Laṅkāvatāra as representing the Dharma-treasure was Bodhidharma and not Guṇabhadra who was a mere translator and not the revealer of the inner meaning of the Sūtra. The connection of Bodhidharma and Laṅkāvatāra is thus intimate. Laṅkāvatāra can refer to Kanchi. It is stated in the life of Hsuan-tsang by Hui-li (Beal 1911:139): "Kanchipura is the sea-port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days". Further, subtle nuances point to Kanchi as the native place of Bodhidharma and as the home of Zen. The tea ceremony ends with the banging of the lid on to the teapot. When I enquired of my Japanese host, Prof.Chikyo Yamamoto, he said: "Master Bodhidharma used to slam the lid in times of yore". How Indian! I was sure once again: it must go back to Bodhidharma.

The Laṅkāvatāra was highly philosophical and abstruse to the Chinese. During the time of the Sixth Patriarch Hui-nēng the emphasis shifted to the Vajracchedikā which was more understandable than the recondite Laṅkāvatāra. Besides meditation, painting was the other forte

of Zen. Prajñāpāramita lent itself admirably to the tenor of Zen painting. The Ch'an masters of Mid T'ang were distinguished by their nonconformist techniques of painting. Wang Mo "Ink Wang" painted landscapes starting from configurations of ink splashes, spattered freely on the silk, which he elaborated in a composition. Unorthodox ways were the manner of Zen painters who delighted in expressing their sincerity in trans-logical forms like a "one-stroke" Bodhidharma (Jap.Ippitsu Daruma by Shokai Reiken 1315-1396). The Vajracchedikā with its dictum of *rūpaṁ eva śūnyatā śūnyata eva rūpaṁ* inspired Zen art which vanished into nowhere, with its diaphanous water colours and empty spaces interfering with the coherence of thought and form. A painting shimmered in meditation. Dhyāna was deeply steeped in the prajñāpāramita philosophy of śūnyatā.

The Hymn to Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is an essential part of the Zen repertoire of sūtras "what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours" (Suzuki 1950:11). Kanchi was a prominent seat of Śaivism, besides Buddhism and other denominations. The Chinese versions of the Nīlakaṇṭhaka are posterior to Bodhidharma: the first Chinese version of Chih-t'ung (K 292, T 1057b, Nj 318) is dated to A.D. 624-649. The eminent role of the Nīlakaṇṭha hymn in Zen points to a milieu dominated by Buddhism and Śaivism in equal measure. This meeting-point could have beent Kanchi.

Kanchi as the Heartland of Vajrāyana

Kanchi is celebrated in the Sino-Japanese tradition as a centre of Vajrāyana. Vajrabodhi who introduced the *Yoga-tantra* Tattva-saṅgraha to the East Asian tradition was the son of a brāhmaṇa proficient in the five disciplines and a teacher of the King of Kanchi. At the age of 31, he studied in South India for seven years under Nāgajñāna a disciple of Nāgārjuna and received *abhiseka*. He studied the *Vairocana-sūtra*, the *Tattva-saṅgraha* and various *dhāraṇīs*, according to Lu (Chou 1945:313). He reached Canton in A.D. 719 where an Imperial Edict ordered him to be welcomed to the Tz'u-en Temple in Ch'ang-an. He had a great *maṇḍala* of *Vajradhātu* painted wherever he stayed. Wu kuei-fei, who alone among the queens enjoyed the special favours of the Chinese Emperor, presented treasures to Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi urged the queen to have a statue of Vajrayusi made for long life. He was untiring in the propagation of Vajrāyana since his arrival at Canton and in the consecration of properly constructed mandalas. In 723 Vajrabodhi translated the *japa-sūtra* of the *Tattva-saṅgraha tantra*. In 732, he told his disciples at the Kuang-fu Temple in Lo-yang: "When the white moon becomes full, I shall go".Then he made obeisance to the image of Vairocana Buddha, walking around it seven times. Having withdrawn to his own quarters, he burned perfume and made vows. After he paid homage to the Sanskrit texts and confided the new translations on the doctrine to his disciples, he died calmly. His secular age was seventy-one. The tradition of South Indian teachers visiting and working in China was continuous and in this train Vajrabodhi played a major role by introducing Vajrāyana to China, whence it was transmitted to Japan where it is a dominant sect to this day and has contributed

richly to Japanese culture in manifold ways. Vajrabodhi was responsible for the introduction of the *Tattvasaṅgraha tantra.* At that time it was the supreme development of tantric thought and practice with an intricate philosophical system. Vajrabodhi was held in the highest esteem and his home was deeply venerated as the great seat of Vajrāyana. The great stupa or Daito of Koyasan is supposed to be modelled after the Iron Stupa of South India. Koyasan is the headquarters of Vajrāyana in Japan and it indicates how deeply South India was venerated by the Japanese.

The biographies (Bagchi 1938:2. 583) of Prājña of Kapiśā (worked in China A.D. 785-810) point out that he learned the speech of South India where they pursue the *guhyapiṭaka* or *vidyādhara-piṭaka* and practise strange rites. Thereafter he proceeded to the South to study the *yoga tantras, maṇḍala* and *mudrā* of the Vajradhātu. Here South India should refer to Kanchi, for in the life of Hsuan-tsang (Nanking woodprint, chapter 4 folio 6b line 9) Drāviḍa has the gloss *nan-yin* 'South India' in miniscule letters, and the capital of Drāviḍa was Kancipura. The biography of Prajna is a clear indication that South India was a renowned centre of Tantric philosophy, art and ritual. Prajna studied the Chinese language and embarked for China from a South Indian port. This goes to show that South India in this context should refer to Kanci, which is described by Hui-li as: "The town of *Kin-chi* is the opening (mouth) of the southern sea of India". Kanchi must have been frequented by rich Chinese merchants and it is from them that Prājña could acquire a knowledge of Chinese.

In China, Prajna taught Sanskrit to Kobo Daishi, the founder of Shingon or Vajrāyana in Japan. He gave Sanskrit manuscripts to Kobo Daishi: "With the pledge to transmit the torch of the Dharma, I came to China. I wish to sail for Japan, but circumstances do not allow me to fulfil my intention. Take with you the new *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* and the *Ṣaṭpāramitā-sūtra,* both of which I have translated, and these Sanskrit manuscripts. I sincerely hope that these will help create conditions [in which to propagate Buddhism] so that people will be saved" (Hakeda 1972: 149). In the years 796-798 Prajna had translated anew the *Avataṁsaka-sūtra* in 40 fasciculi. It is important to note that at the end there is a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor from the King of Wu-ch'a (Uda) in South India, who presented his own copy of the Sanskrit text to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 795 (Nj 89). Here Wu-ch'a (Uda) is explicitly stated to be situated in South India, and it can be none other than Uddiyana/Kanchi.

From Kanchi to Indonesia

The greatest of Vajrāyana monuments is the Barabudur in Indonesia. Java was a meeting point of Vajrāyana from diverse lands. Amoghavajra from Samarkand had accompanied his uncle on a trade visit to Java. There he met Vajrabodhi of Kānchi in 718 and became his disciple. Vajrabodhi landed at Canton in 719. A year later Amoghavajra arrived at Loyang in A.D. 720. Both of them were instrumental in translating the *Tattava-saṅgraha* and other fundamental scriptures of Vajrāyana into Chinese. In fact, along with their contemporary Subhakarasimha, they laid the foundations of Vajrāyana

in East Asia whose visual *dharma* were the twin mandalas preserved to this day in Japan. The presence of these two great teachers on the island of Java in person, is a unique historic evidence of the emerging world of Vajrāyana, converging to a unity in a shared cultural interdependence of values and forms, the remnants of whose manifold strands today lie disseminated far apart.

In a detailed article I (1979) have identified the Barabudur as the Vajradhātu *maṇḍala*, the Chandi Mendut as the Garbhadhātu *maṇḍala* and Pawon as the homa-temple to Acala. These three elements have parallels in Japanese Vajrāyana. The close resemblance seems to be due to their common origin from Kanchi. As pointed out earlier, Vajrabodhi the great founder of East Asian Vajrāyana was the son of the Royal preceptor of Kanchi. As we shall now see , there were close relations between Tamil and Sailendra Buddhism.

The legend of an Āḻvār saint throws welcome light on the presence of Tamil *sthapatis* in Indonesia. The Vaiṣṇava saint Tiru- maṅgai Āḻvār wanted to renovate the Raṅganātha temple of Śrīraṅgam. "He hit upon the idea of robbing the Buddhist *Vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭinam of its Buddha image of solid gold. In this project, the information given by an old Vaiṣṇava lady residing at Nagapattinam was very useful. It was to this effect: "The *sthapati* who made this golden image and the *Vimāna* under which it is enshrined lives at present in Dvīpāntara". This statement was enough to send Tiru-maṅgai to Dvīpāntara or Indonesia where he had no great difficulty in identifying the house of the celebrated artist and architect and getting him, by a ruse, to surrender the secret of the construction of the *vimāna,* which enabled the Āḻvār to enter the temple stealthily and remove the golden image according to plan (Ramachandran 1954:15). The word *paṭṭinam* itself denotes a settlement of *sambaras,* i.e., those who paid allegiance to Buddhist monks and were rich maritime merchants. The aforesaid event attests to the fact of flourishing communications between India and Indonesia in the 8th century A.D.

The *sthapati* referred to above could have been responsible for the creation of the central image of the Barabudur. Even if there was some other *sthapati,* he could have hailed from South India. The *sthapatis* were in the Land of Gold, in Suvarṇabhūmi, and they would have insisted on a statue of solid gold for such a magnific ent monument as the Barabudur, when there was a precedent in the main image of the *vihāra* at Nagapattinam being of gold. A bronze statue of Vairocana, covered with hammered gold leaf, has been found from Sidorejo (Central Java). It can be assigned to about the 9th century A.D.. Significantly enough, it bears a stylistic affinity with South Indian sculpture (Fontein 1971:148 no.27).

Bara-Budur is a Tamil Word

The first element of the name Bara-budur goes back to an ancient spoken form, as in the name of Bokhara 'the city of v(i)hāras'. In the earliest Western document of 1221 the name Bokhara occurs as *Bachara* (Pelliot 1959:1:108). The lost colloquial Indic form *vahāra* developed into *bahār* and *bokhar*, *a* being pronounced as *o*. Pelliot's

discussion about the etymology of Bokhara does not take into account the possibility of the Indic form *vahāra,* which is enhanced by the Newari term *vahal* for the Buddhist temples of Vajrāyana in Nepal. The Indonesian *bara,* pronounced in Modern Javanese as *boro,* can be traced back to *bahāra/ba'ara* (by the elision of *h*) < bāra(coalescence of the two *a*)<*bara* (influenced by *vara* 'excellent, supreme'). In modern Tamil, *h* is a glide for hiatus *mura-hari* for Mura-ari/Murāri. Conversely, the *h* in *bahara* was considered an epenthetic and dropped. This gave the form *bara,* and the long vowel (ba) was lost in the popular pronunciation of Java which has no long vowels.

The second element of the name, Budur, has been unconvincingly derived from Malay *budua,* or Skt. *Buddha.* Moens (1951:333) has rightly come to the conclusion that *-ūr* is the South Indian suffix for a city, settlement. In Tamil *putu/budu* means 'new', and *putūr* refers to a 'new settlement'. There is a town called Budoor (PTG.1954:125a) in the Chingleput district in South India, and eight towns with the name Pudūr (PTG. 1954:566) and Pudūr-pāḷayam, Pudūr-Rāmnād, Pudūr-Uthamaṉūr, not to mention about a hundred city names with Pudu. Thus the word Budur is the Tamil term for a new settlement, and Bara Budūr means the New Monsatery or Nava-vihāra like its well-known counterpart Nav Bahar at Balkh, of the contemporary period. Several monasteries in Eastern Iran were called Nav Bahar.

Tamil Phonetics and Words in Indonesia

There are a number of traces in the Sailendra monuments which stem from Tamil nuances of phonetics and vocabulary. From the ruins of Chandi Sewu a fragmentary inscription bears the words: *tiruraṉu* (Casparis 1950:115). Casparis considers it to be the designation of an official. Tamil *tiru* is śrī and *ranu* corresponds to Tamil *rāṉuvam* 'army' (Tamil Lexicon 6.3423). It may refer to king Samara-tuṅga, who reigned 812-832 (Casparis 1950:201). It could have been his pet family name (*tiru* = *śrī, rāṉuva*= samara).

The Inscription of Sri Kahulunnan dated Śaka 764=A.D. 842, which is corrrelated to the Barabudur by Casparis, begins with the date and the day is *canaiścarawara* (Casparis 1950:86), instead of *śa°. Ca* in place of *śa* is a common phenomenon in Tamil, where *śani* is *cani.*

A highly significant phrase occurs in the beginning of the two inscriptions:

I line 4
sīmā niṅ kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra
II lines 2, 3
sīmā niṅ kamūlān [i bhūmi] sambhara

Casparis has rightly come to the conclusion that the phrase refers to the Barabudur complex, on the analysis of the village-names occurring in the inscription. But his interpretation of the word *kamūlān* has to be viewed in a new light. *Kamūlān* is a homonymic counterpart of *mula-sthāna* where *ka..... an* denotes *sthāna.* In Tamil this word occurs as *mula-t-tāṉam* (from *mūla-sthāna*) 'sanctum sanctorum of a temple'(Tamil-Lexicon). (*Tiru--mūlattānam* (*tiru* = śrī+mula-sthāna) refers to the sacred shrine of Tirūvārūr (Tamil Lexicon p.1913). The renowned North Indian geographic name Multan, which is derived from Sanskrit Mūlasthāna, also means '[The City of the] Temple'. In Srilanka too, *mūla=ārāma* (Encyclopaedia

of Buddhism 3.22,24). Kamulan refers only to the sacred complex and has nothing to do with the origins of the Sailendra dynasty.

The compound *bhūmi sambhara* is a proper name, a toponym. It means the 'land/country of the sambhara'. With it we may compare the geographic name Bumi-ayu (Fontein 1971:149 no.30) in Brebes, Central Java, whence a bronze of seated Tārā has been discovered with a Sanskrit inscription. It may be noted that the vowel length in the two inscriptions varies -- *sambhāra* and *sambhăra*. In Tamil *sambara* refers to the Buddhist community. *Sambara* is *saṁvara* meaning 'the Buddhist vows'. The transition from *sambara* to *sambhara* was an orthographic variation where *bh* lent the word dignity of hyper-sanskritism. It could also have been influenced by the Buddhist term *sambhāra* (puṇya-sambhāra, etc. in the Dharmasaṅgraha 117). Thus *bhūmi saṁbhara* meant the land of the sambhara, i.e. Indian Buddhists. The whole expression *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhara* means 'a monastic foundation of Indian Buddhists'. It is pertinent to cite the lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the Barabudur, which refers to a locus on a hill of the southern region *(dakṣiṇāpathasya parvvatasthale).* Boechari (Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Barabudur temple, cyclostyled paper 1976:11) poses the question "Does this text refer to the Barabudur?" We feel that it does. Daksinapatha in Sanskrit is South India: the same as *bhūmi samhara; parvatasthala* refers to the Barabudur, the replica of Mount Sumeru. The Barabudur is in the village Bumi-segoro (Skt. sagarabhumi) which alludes to it as the settlement of people beyond the seas, i.e. India. In stanza 8 of the Kalasan Inscription of Saka 700 (Sarkar 1972:1.36, Casparis 1950:186) the Sailendras do term themselves *āryasantati.* As late as the 11th century, Sailendras had intimate relations with South India: they founded a vihara at Nagapttinam, to which the Cōḷa King granted the income of a village for support (Fontein 1971:33). We are led to the conclusion that Mendut-Pawon-Barabudur was modelled after the Indic tradition.

Kanchi in Indonesian Chronicle and Country

The Old Javanese chronicle *Nāgarakrtāgama* composed in A.D. 1365 refers to Kanchi thrice. It speaks of the Buddhist monk Buddhaditya of Ṣaḍvihāra in Kanchi and of the Brahmin Mutali Sahṛdaya who came to the Javanese court of Hayam Vuruk. The former composed a panegyric (bhogavali) in Sanskrit *slokas,* while Mutali (=Mudaliyar) paid praise in slokas:

Sakveḥ saṅ paṇḍitan anyadharaṇi
maṅikĕt kāstavan śrī narendrā/
śrī buddhāditya saṅ bhikṣv agavay
i sira bhogāvali śloka kīrṇna/
riṅ jambudvīpa toṅgvānira manaran
i kāñcipuri ṣaḍvihāra/
mvaṅ saṅ viprāṅaran śrī mutali sahṛdayāvat śtuti śloka śuddha/ 93.1

Honoured scholars in other countries compose verses in praise of the Illustrious Prince. The Illustrious Buddhāditya the *bhikṣu* has composed a panegyric of Sanskrit *ślokas* with great variety.

In India is his place, named Kancipuri, at the Ṣaḍvihāra. And the honoured brahmin named Mutali Sahṛdaya brings pure praise in Sanskrit ślokas.

The Indonesian kāvya Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana by Mpu Ḍusun is dated to the later Majapahit period, that is to the 14-15th centuries. Its reference to the pentads of Saugata, Pāśupata and Śaiva sects (23.1d-3) reminds of the Kapālin, Buddhist monk and Pāśupata in the Mattavilāsa of the Pallava king Mahēndra-vikramavarman (580-680). Could this go back to Kanchi?

Kanchi is mentioned in an inscription from Jiju, which is to be dated in the last quarter of the 15th century A.D. (OJO. p. 224). It refers to *saṅ hyaṅ dharma riṅ kāñci,* that is, a religious foundation at Kanchi, but the drift of the passage indicates it to be a place located somewhere in the subdivision of Mojokerto. Thus Kanchi lent its glorious name to a place in Central Java.

Kanchi: A Cradle of Tibetan Tantras

In Tibetan Buddhism, Oddiyana is the heartland of Vajrāyana. It was the centre where the *Tantras* were revealed. Oḍḍiyāṇa played a pivotal role in the development, redaction and dissemination of the *Tantras.* According to Bu-ston it was at Oḍḍiyāṇa that Vajrapāṇi collected "endless revelations of Vajrāyana", and gave them to Indrabhūti. Guhyasamāja, the culmination of Tantric thought, was also revealed to Indrabhuti in Oḍḍiyana. The *Tattvaprabhāsa-karaṇḍa-dīpa* (Toh. 2643) and *Ñāna-tilaka-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Toh.422) of the Guhyasamaja tradition point out that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, and it was he who knew and could explain the *Guhyasamaja.* The *Guhyasamāja* was commented upon by Candrakīrti who was a follower of the tantric Nāgārjuna who was born at Kanchi and whom the texts call *kāñcīnara* (Tucci 1949:1.214). The explicit reference to Kanchi holds the key to the identification of Oḍḍiyāṇa. It is significant that Indrabhūti was an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi, who was the presiding deity of Maṅgakoṣṭha situated in Oḍḍiyāṇa, or modern Ekāmreśvara at Kanchi.

In a Nepalese manuscript of the 9th century, Vajrapāṇi of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna is illustrated on folio 89 recto: *Oḍḍiyāne Maṅgakoṣṭa-Vajrapāṇi* (Foucher 1900:121, Naudou 1968:36). Maṅgakoṣṭha is an earlier name of Ekāmreśvara temple at Kanchi. Tamil *maṅkay=man* 'mango-tree' + *kay* 'fruit', heard and recorded by the Portuguese as *manga* > *English mango.* The ancient name of the site must have been intentionally changed to the present Ekāmreśvara to signal its new religious associations. The word Maṅgakoṣṭha may also conceal a double entendre to an emanation of goddess Tara, for Tamil *m a ṅ k a i* means 'a girl between 12 and 13 years', Malayalam *maṅka* 'a young, playful woman'. Tara was the presiding deity *(pīṭhīśvari)* of holy Oḍḍiyāṇa, and today her apotheosis is significantly kāmākṣī 'one of amorous eyes'. The iconographic xylograph Rin-lhan, illustrates the *O-rgyan sgrol-ma gnas-kyi-dbaṅ-phyug-ma=Pīṭhīśvarī Oḍḍiyāna Tārā* on folio 45b. Kanchi consists of Kāma-kōṭṭam (Kāḷi-kōṭṭam), Rudra-kōṭṭam, Puṇya-kōṭṭam and Kumara-kōṭṭam which are sacred severally for Parāśakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Kumāra. The word *koṣṭha = kōṭṭa,* and it goes to strengthen the placement of Maṅgakoṣṭha in Kanchi. In March 1986 I visited Ekāmreśvara and saw nine Buddhist sculptures in the enclosing wall: remnants of thousands that have perished or

have been obliterated. Vajrapāṇi is a name of Indra and Kanchi is celebrated for its Indra festival in Tamil classics. Nowadays, young boys and girls pray to Ekāmreśvara for life-spouses by offering miniature beds at the shrine. Since its heyday as the centre of Vajrāyana, Maṅga-koṣṭha (now Ekāmreśvara) must have been associated with arcane rites, and hence the place where the Guhyasamāja was revealed.

In an earlier paper entitled "A New Interpretation of Oḍḍiyāṇa", I have dealt at length with the identification of Oḍḍiyāṇa with Kanchi. We have to distinguish three places and three words:

Udayāna=Swat (in the Northwest of India)
Odiviśa=Orissa
Oḍḍiyāṇa=Kāñchi
Sometimes they may have been confused but they are reasonably distinguished and demand a detailed reappraisal.

Several Tamil expressions occur in the dharanis. It is borne out by *the Karuṇā-puṇḍarīka-sutra* 39:1,3 which speaks of *Dramiḍa-mantra-pada* and by the Sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī: 16.1 *iyam Drāviḍa-mantra-pada sarvajñatakara-dhāraṇī.*

The syllabification dot or *tsheg* in Tibetan is unique in the family of Indic scripts. Only Tamil and Thai scripts hava a dot for devocalisation on top of the consonant. I would not be surprised if the Tibetan *tsheg* is derived from the Tamil script. The Tibetan script was created by Thon-mi Sambhota, a minister under King Strong-btsan-sgam-po in the seventh century. It is his most outstanding contribution to Tibetan culture which is commemorated in special dramas performed to this day. His other historic exploit is that he defeated the Chinese in 670. Sambhota had come to study at Nalanda and he could have got the inspiration for the *tsheg* under a Tamil guru. This possibility cannot be ruled out when Hsuan-tsang mentions (Watters 1905:2.165) some great bodhisattvas who served Buddhism at Nalanda by their outstanding commentaries, like Guṇamati, Dharmapāla, Candrapāla and Śīlabhadra. While Guṇamati died much earlier, Dharmapāla passed away about A.D. 600. Dharmapāla's disciple Śīlabhadra was the Abbot of Nalanda when Hsuan-tsang was there in the two years: about A.D. 637 and 642. He became a friend and teacher of the pilgrim. Hsuan-tsang was at Kanchi in 640, perhaps induced by his teacher Śīlabhadra, who might have hailed from Kanchi. Thus Tamils were honoured teachers at Nalanda and Sambhota must have been in touch with them. The date of the devocalisation dot in Tamil script and several other facets have to be considered. The entire question merits a detailed study.

The Guhyasamāja was preached by Munīndra himself to Indrabhūti, the king of Oḍḍiyāṇa. A *yoginī* heard it from Indrabhūti and taught it to king Viśukalpa of the Southern country. The mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha heard it from him and taught it to acarya Nāgārjuna (Blue Annals 1.359). Indrabhūti should have been a rich landlord of the Buddhist quarter of Kanchi or Oḍḍiyāṇa, with the title of a raja or king. King Viśukalpa, Saraha and tantric Nāgārjuna were also in Kanchi. Saraha wrote five sādhanas of Trailokya-vaśaṁkara Lokeśvara of Oḍḍiyāṇa (Tanjur 70.25,26, 71.66, 122, 123). The *alias* of Saraha(pāda)

is Rāhula (bhadra) (Taranatha 1970:382 n.8). Āryadeva entrusted the responsibility of the dharma to Rāhulabhadra in Raṅganātha near Kanchi (Tāranātha 1970:126). The connection of Saraha with Kanchi is on positive grounds.

Kṣatriya Rāhulabhadra, disciple of Buddhajñāna-pāda, attained the vision of Vajradhātu Vairocana (Pañcakula Tathāgata) and went to the Drāviḍa country. "There he delivered many sermons on the Guhyatantra. He obtained wealth from the Nāgas and from this he used to pay everyday a golden dīnāra as the daily wage to each of the five hundred workers employed in the construction of a temple. Thus he built a big temple of Guhyasamāja" (Taranatha 1970:280). This passage points to the Drāviḍa land as the centre of Guhyasamāja, and to the presence of rich foreign (naga) merchants from beyond the seas.

The importance of Kanchi, where were born great Buddhist masters like logician Diṅnāga, was evident to Tāranātha (181) as he gives a list of the rulers of Kanchi (11) in the introductory chapter of his history of Buddhism in India.

Kanchi was a cradle of several manifestations of Buddhism. Buddhaghosa wrote the Pali commentaries while residing at Kanchi. Several Theravāda monks wrote at Kanchi or headed the viharas till the 13th century. Two of the greatest Tamil classics are Buddhist. Chapada went to Pagan (Burma) during the reign of king Anawratha (10th cent.), and took along with him two Theras who were residents of Kanchi. Of them, Ananda headed the Burmese Śaṅgha for 50 years and died in A.D. 1245. From the heights of Dhyāna Buddhism to the depths of Vajrāyana all were cradled in the brilliant traditions of learning at Kanchi, enriched by her continuing affluence because of international trade. The toponyms Mēkhala/Kāñchi/Oḍḍiyānam celebrate the rapture of the jewelled girdle in the arcane lore of the Guhyasamāja, while the fantasies of her guardian goddess (Maṇi) Mēkhala lie trampled in the silence of time. The kingdom of the revealed heart seeks to resurrect the betrayal of a vast forgetting: such is the quest of this Seminar on Dhyāna and Vajrāyana Buddhism organised by the Department of Philosophy of the distinguished Tamil University.

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THE SHORTER Ū IN TAMIL-BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT*

Iravatham Mahadevan

One of the orthographic peculiarities of the Tamil-Brahmi script still to be accounted for satisfactorily is the apparently unnecessary 'lengthening' of the short vowel *u* in certain positions. To be more precise, this special usage consists of the use of the long *ū* symbols (both initial and medial) to denote the short *u* sound; e.g., *upu* for *uppū* 'salt'. I had drawn attention to this question in an earlier paper (Mahadevan 1968: 73-106) but without being able to offer any explanation. The present paper suggests a likely solution to the problem.

The *Corpus of the Tamil-Brāhmī Inscriptions (CTB)* (Mahadevan 1966: 57-73) records 13 instances of this special usage, far too many to be ascribed merely to scribal error. The depiction of the long *ū* as short *u* can possibly be explained as a scribal omission to mark the additional stroke;[1] the converse (which is the case here) is very unlikely. The theory of scribal error can therefore be dismissed. It is also significant that the special usage is confined to the earliest of the cave-inscriptions at Māngulam, Tiruvādavūr, Kīḻavalavu, Koṅgarpuḷiyaṅguḷam and Aḻagarkóvil, all clustered around Madurai. It is already known that these early inscriptions have a characteristic system of vocalic notation which is quite different from that of the later Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions. Thus, the frequency and distribution of this peculiar usage warrant the assumption that it is systematic and justifies the search for a rational explanation.

The following is a complete list of words in alphabetical order featuring the special usage:

The following is a complete list of words in alphabetical order featuring the special usage:

Item No.	Words (as found in CTB)	Equivalents (in lit. Ta.)	Meanings	Reference (CTB)
(i)	*avarūm*	*avarum*	'they also'	42
(ii)	*ūpācā-aṉ*	*upāca(k)aṉ*	'lay devotee' (< Skt.upâsaka)	9

* Paper read at the Fourth All-India Conference of Dravidian Linguistics, Madras, in 1974.

Item No.	Words (as found in *(CTB)*	Equivalents (in lit. Ta.)	Meanings	Reference *(CTB)*
(iii)	*ŭpācă-an̲*	"	"	10
(iv)	*ŭpācăn̲*	"	"	8
(v)	*ŭpăr̲uva...*	*uppar̲uva(n̲)*	'a caste name' (well-digger)	10
(vi)	*ŭpu vāṉikan̲*	*uppŭ vāṉikan̲*	'salt merchant'	34
(vii)	*ŭr̲ai*	*ur̲ai*	'abode'	8
(viii)	*kottŭpittă-a*	*koṭuppitta*	'caused to be given'	1
(ix)	*koṭṭŭpittōn̲*	*kotuppittōn̲*	'he who caused to be given'	7
(x)	*kottŭpittōn̲*	"	"	8
(xi)	*koṭŭpitōn̲*	"	"	5
(xii)	*păr-acŭ*	*paracu?*	a personal name (< Skt. paraśu?)	8
(xiii)	*pin̲ă-ŭ*	*pin̲aivu?*	a lattice or screen?	3

Another inscription very recently (1985) copied from Mettupatti and still unpublished provides two more examples:

(xiv)	*ŭr̲ai*	*ur̲ai*	'abode'
(xv)	*ŭtayan̲*	*utaiyan̲*	'a male personal name'

Six selected texts *(CTB* 5,7,8,10,34 and 42) are illustrated here (Fig.1).

Notes: (a) The symbol -ă indicates the long -ā medial stroke in the inscriptions standing for the short -*a* sound, in accordance with the early Tamil-Brahmi orthography.

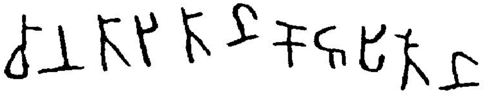
(b) The symbol ŭ indicates the long *ū* symbols (initial or medial) in the inscriptions standing for the short *u* sound.

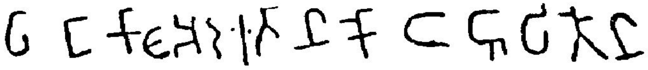
(c) The symbol ŭ stands for the shorter or 'ultra-short' *u* in Tamil *(Kur̲r̲iyal ukaram)*.

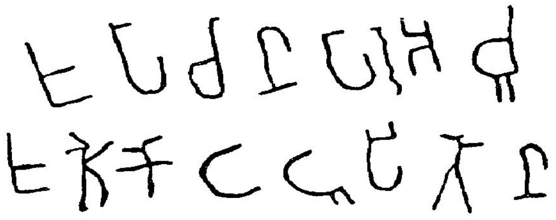
Before we proceed further, we may note that inscriptions from these sites also furnish examples for the 'normal' usage of the long *u* and the short *u* symbols: e.g.,

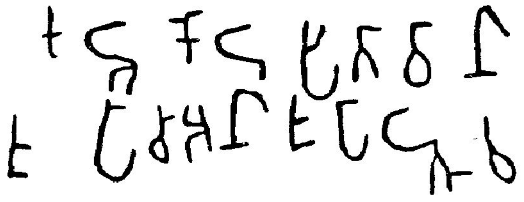
(xiv) *pākăn̲-ūr (pākan̲ūr)*: 'place-name' *(CTB* 12)

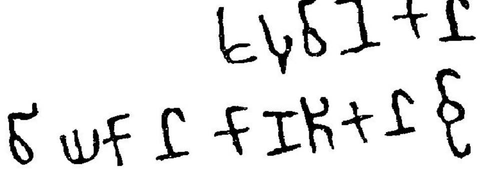
(xv) *koṭupitōn̲ (koṭuppittōn̲)*: 'he who caused to be given *(CTB* 3).

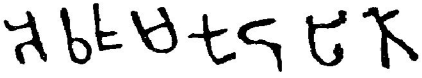
5 

7 

8 

10 

34 

42 

Confining our attention only to the five sites featuring the special usage, we have the following statistics:

No. of texts occurring at the 5 sites		27
No. of texts showing the special usage		9
Total No. of long *ū* symbols (both initial and medial)		14
ū symbols for *ū* sound	1	
ū symbols for *u* sound	13	
	14	
Total No. of short *-u* symbols (all non-initial)		19
-u symbol for *-u* sound	15	
-u symbol for *-ŭ* sound	4	
	19	

We may also note that the special usage is totally absent from the Middle or Arikamēdu period onwards (i.e. from c.first century A.D). In other words, the use of long *ū* symbols for the short *u* sound is co-terminus with the use of the long *-ā* medial sign for the short *-a* medial sound.

From the evidence marshalled above we can frame the following empirical rules of orthography for the early Tamil-Brāhmī script:

(a) the symbols for *ū* (initial or medial) stand for the sounds *ū* (long) or *u* (short.)

(b) the symbols for *u* (initial or medial) stand for the sounds *u* (short) or *ŭ* (shorter).

As soon as such a rule is framed we are struck with its essential similarity with another special rule of early Tamil-Brahmi orthography, already well-established, viz., the symbol for the long *-ā* medial sign stands for the sounds *-ā* (long) or *-a* (short). The examples given in the word-list clearly illustrate the parallelism between the two rules. Study the occurrence of *-ǎ* and *ŭ* often within the same words in this list. In fact it is this parallelism which holds the key to our understanding the reason for the special usage relating to the *u* symbols and sounds.

It is now well known that the orthographical system of the early Tamil-Brahmi script differs materially from that of the Nothern Brahmi

script and is in fact a deliberate modification to suit the needs of the Tamil phonetic system. I have dealt with this matter at some length in my earlier paper already referred to (Mahadevan 1968: 80-3). The main features of this system relevant to our present purposes can be summarised as follows:

(a) The consonantal symbol is treated as a basic consonant.

(b) The -*a* medial vowel is not 'inherent' in a consonant and is denoted by a medial sign.

(c) The -*a* and -*ā* medial signs are however identical and can be distinguished only from the context.

Thus the apparent reading *mākāṉa* (in terms of the northern Brahmi) is *makaṉ* 'son' in the early Tamil-Brahmi script. In other words, while the Brahmi script provided for only two lengths viz., -*ā* and -*a*, the early Tamil-Brahmi script provided for three lengths namely -*ā*, -*a* and ϕ For reasons still not quite clear, the early Tamil-Brahmi script used only one medial stroke for both -*a* and -*ā* medial sounds. This can be comapred with the usage in the later Tamil-Brahmi script where the same symbol, namely the consonantal symbol, was used to denote both the basic consonant and the consonant with the inherent medial -*a* sound. The resulting confusion was solved in the two systems in characteristically different ways. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu script (probably an off-shoot of the early Tamil-Brahmi script) devised a special sign for the long -*ā* medial sound. to distinguish it from the short -*a* medial sound (Buhler 1894:323-9). The later Tamil-Brahmi script developed the *puḷḷi* system to distinguish the basic consonant from the consonant with the inherent -*a* sound.[2] Both systems are comparable in this that they succeeded in their own different ways in distinguishing the three vowel-lengths viz., - *ā* , -*a* and ϕ It is the latter system which has still survived in the present-day Tamil script.

The parallelism between the -*a* and the *u* usages in the early Tamil-Brahmi script is suggestive in the light of the foregoing analysis. Since the special usage regarding the -*a* medial signs was devised to accommodate three lengths (viz., -*ā*, -a and ϕ), there must be a similar reason for the special usage relating to the *u* symbols. In other words, this system provides for three lengths in *u* sound, namely, the long *ū*, the short *u* and the shorter *u*. This then is the solution to the problem posed in this paper.

Let us now go back to the word-list to test our new hypothesis. The diagnostic word in the list is *ūpu* (item No.vi). Applying our rule we can now read this as *up(p)ǔ* with the short *u* initially and the shorter -*ǔ* finally. We can now see that the shifting of the long *ū* symbol to denote the short *u* is to leave the short u symbol to represent the shorter -*u*. The shorter -*u* seems to be intended in the word-final positions in the following other words also occurring at these sites:

(xvi) *nikǎmatu* (nikamattŭ): 'Of the guild' *(CTB.* 3) Skt.*nigama)*

(xvii) *netu* (neṭŭ): 'great' *(CTB.* 1 & 37) (cf.*neṭi* - in *CTB.* 2)*

* The alternation between -*u* and -*i* clearly suggests the shorter character of the vowel sound here.

The other items in the list (i to v and vii to xi) can easily be explained on the basis that the long *ū* in these cases denotes the short *u* in accordance with the special rule of orthography formulated here.

Items (xii) and (xiii) are especially interesting as they have the long *ū* in the word-final position indicating that these words were pronounced with the short *u* *(muṟṟiyal-u-karam)* and not the shorter -*ŭ* *(kuṟṟiyal-u-karam)* at the end. Unfortunately both the words are obscure and their emendation and translation are uncertain. *Păr-acŭ* (item xii) seems to be a personal name and probably derived from Skt. *paraśu.*. (The reason for writing *ra* as *r-a* is unknown). It is interesting to note that in modern Tamil (especially in the Brahmin dialect) personal names ending in -*u* are clearly pronounced with the short-*u* and not the shorter-*ü*.

The word *piṇă-ŭ* (Item xiii) is difficult to interpret. From the context, *(piṇă-ŭ koṭupitōṉ)* the word can refer either to a person or to an object. *piṇa(v)u* as a male personal name is unlikely. I have therefore provisionally translated the term as "lattice or screen?" *(pinaivu?)*. If this is correct, we should expect the use of the shorter-*ü* and not the short-*u* at the end. The matter is not free from doubt.

I think however that, on the whole, the evidence presented above supports the special rule of orthography regarding the use of the *u* symbols formulated above (para 7) and also the reason behind the rule viz., an attempt to indicate the three lengths (*ū*, *u* and *ü*). However the system was not fully developed as we find that only two signs were used to distinguish the three lengths, exactly as in the case of the other series (-*ā*, -*ă* and -Ø). This was probably one of the reasons why both the special usages disappeared from the Tamil-Brahmi script in the later period.

NOTES

1. Such a scribal error does occur in *erukātur (CTB* 51) for *erukāṭṭūr*, a place name.

2. My earliest statement (1968:83) that the *pulli* is not found in the Tamil-Brahmi inscriptions has to be modified. A bi-lingual (Prākṛt and Tamil) Sātavāhana coin (c.second century A.D.) features the earliest use of *puḷḷi*. The Aṟaccalūr cave inscription *(CTB* 72) furnishes another early example (c.third-fourth century A.D.).

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SOME ASPECTS OF SYNCRETISM BETWEEN HINDU RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND THE INDIGENOUS MALAY FOLK-BELIEF IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA*

S.Singaravelu

The term *Batara*, from the Sanskrit word *bhaṭṭara* meaning 'noble lord', is a title given in the Malay peninsula and archipelago to the major aspects of Hindu divinity and it is also known to have been assumed as a title by certain rulers.

However, the expression *Batara Guru* is associated specifically with the Hindu concept of god Śiva in his manifestations as the King of the gods, the Teacher and the Ascetic. Of the supreme deities of the ancient Malay folklore, Batara Guru is regarded as the greatest. The Malay magician declares Batara Guru to be the all-powerful spirit, so powerful that he could restore the dead to life. (Skeat 1967: 86-87; Winstedt 1961:9).

Batara Guru in the Malay folklore is associated with several manifestations. The following are some of the expressions signifying such manifestations of Batara Guru: *Sang Kāla*, *Bentara (or Batara) Kāla*, *Mahā Ṛṣi Kāla Yang Bermatakan Api*, *To' (Dato') Perang Hutan*, and *Yang Berdiri Kaki Tunggal.* (Rentse 1936: 291-299).

The expressions *Sang Kāla*, *Bentara* or *Batara Kāla*, *Mahā Ṛṣi Kāla Yang Bermatakan Api* 'the Great Sage of Time who has the Fiery Eye' would seem to be associated with the Hindu concept of god Śiva signifying *Time,' the All-Destroyer*. *Kāla* 'Time', signifying god Śiva, is understood to mean the *Transcendent-Time (Mahā Kāla)*, that is, the absolute, eternal and ever-present time, . and, as such, it is distinct from the relative time. The relative time that we perceive is merely an apparent division of continuous and measureless Time. (Danielou 1963: 200-201).

The universal power of destruction, in which all existence ends and from which it rises again, is associated with the concept of god Śiva in Hinduism. Foremost among the agents of destruction is fire. The frontal eye of god Śiva is his fiery third eye; it burns all that appears before it. Hence the apt Malay expression, *Māha Ṛṣi Kāla Yang Bermatakan Api* ('the Great Sage of Time Who has the Fiery Eye').

From destruction, creation rises again. God Śiva, as the origin of

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all creation, is the fount of regeneration and life. Therefore, he appears not only as an aspect of destruction, but also as One who regenerates all forms of life, creating new worlds and new beings. (Danielou 1963: 192). It is perhaps on the basis of this belief that the Malay magician declares Bataru Guru to be the "all-powerful spirit, a spirit so powerful that he could restore the dead to life". (Skeat 1967: 86-87).

The other Malay expressions, namely, *'To (Dato') Perang Hutan* 'Lord of the Battle in the Forest' and *Yang Berdiri Kaki Tunggal* 'One Who is Standing on a Solitary Foot' would also seem to be associated with another important aspect of god Śiva, namely, Naṭarāja 'King of the Cosmic Dance'. Naṭarāja is one of the greatest manifestations of god Siva as the Lord of the Cosmic Dance that typifies the ordered movement of the Universe. One of the Hindu mythological accounts of the Cosmic Dance of Śiva known as the *Nādānta* is to be found in the second chapter (*Patañcali-carukkam)* of the Tamil Purānic work entitled *Kōyil-Purāṇam,* which is ascribed to Umāpati Civācariyār (14th century A.D.):

"In the forest of Tāragam lived multitudes of heretics. God Śiva proceeded there to refute their heresy. The heretics' anger was directed against god Śiva and they tried to destroy him by means of incantations. A fierce tiger, created from the sacrificial fires, rushed upon god Śiva. But god Śiva, smiling gently, seized the tiger, and with his finger-nail stripped off its skin and wrapped himself with it like a silken cloth. Undaunted by failure, the heretics renewed their sacrificial offerings and produced a monstrous serpent, which god Śiva seized and wreathed about his neck like a garland. As god Śiva then began to dance, there rushed upon him a final monster in the form of a malignant dwarf known as Muyalaka. God Śiva pressed his right foot upon the dwarf and broke his back, and thus with his last foe prostrate beneath his right foot, god Śiva resumed the dance. (Coomaraswamy 1948: 85-86).

The Malay expression *To' Perang Hutan* 'Lord of the Battle in the Forest' is apparently associated with the Hindu legend of god Śiva's conquest over the forces of evil that were rushed upon him by the heretics in the forest of Tāragam. In this connexion, mention may also be made of another Malay expression, namely, *To' Panjang Kuku* 'Lord of Long-Claws', which also signifies a manifestation of Batara Guru (Skeat 1967: 90-91). The expression *To' Panjang Kuku* is apparently associated with the legend of god Śiva stripping off the tiger's skin with his finger-nail in the forest of Tāragam.

The *Nādānta* dance of god Śiva is iconographically represented in the famous South Indian bronze image of *Naṭarāja*. The image depicts god Śiva with his upper right hand holding the hour-glass-shaped drum to signify creation and with his upper left hand bearing a tongue of flame to signify destruction. His lower left hand points to his raised left foot signifying spiritual freedom or salvation, and his lower right palm is shown in the posture of signifying protection and blessings for the conscious and the unconscious order of his creation. While his left foot

7.

NATARAJA
(YANG BERDIRI KAKI TUNGGAL)

is raised to signify salvation, his right foot is firmly planted on the back of dwarfish figure of Muyalaka (signifying ignorance) whom god Śiva conquered. The Malay expression *Yang Berdiri Kaki Tunggal* 'One Who is Standing On a Solitary Foot' is apparently also associated with the Cosmic *Nādānta* dance of god Śiva as *Natarāja*.

It would seem from the above account that the striking correspondences between the various expressions associated with Batara Guru in Malay folklore and the mythological details concerning the *Nādānta* dance of god Śiva to be found in the Hindu Purāṇic work *Koyil-Puranam* are reflective of the lively syncretism between the Hindu concept of god Śiva and the indigenous Malay folk-belief concerning supernatural beings in the Malay Peninsula. The syncretism has been possible apparently because god Siva has been regarded as the Lord of the Elements *(Bhūteśvara)* including the spirits of various description, and this would seem to have made the Hindu concept of god Siva being identified with the concept of Batara Guru, the deity *par excellence*, in the Malay folklore.

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PROBLEMS IN TRANSLATING CAṄKAM POETRY INTO EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

M.A.Ulrike Niklas.

There are many factors which have to be taken into account while translating literature, and more so while judging others' attempts at translation. With due consideration to the shortness of time here, I will just discuss five points which seem to me to be of the greatest importance for the translation of Caṅkam poems. Following this, I will compare different translations of three poems from *Kuṟuntokai.*

1. Language is a vehicle of culture. If we define "culture" with R.A.Hudson (1983: 73f.) as referring "to some 'property' of a community, especially those which might distinguish it from other communities", and further as "socially acquired knowledge", it becomes clear that a translation is not to be done by a mere word-by-word rendering from one language to the other. This becomes all the more effective in translating poetry which is highly conventional within its cultural limits and specified by the natural surroundings of the country where it originated--as is the case with Caṅkam lyrics. Many details of descriptions may not be intelligible to the reader of the 'target-language' of the translation. Thus, either elucidatory explanations are to be given or whole phrases of the poem have to be converted into terms proper to the cultural surroundings of the target-language. This is possible in a few instances, but it bears the danger of destroying not only the form but also the meaning conveyed by the original.

As a positive example of this technique, let me cite the first two lines of *Kuṟuntokai* 41 and A.K. Ramanujan's translation of these:

Kātalar uḻaiyar ākap peritu uvantu
Cāṟu kol ūriṉ pukalvēṉ maṉṟa

"When my lover is by my side
I am happy
as a city
in the rapture of a carnival".

The term "carnival", used here, is the exact western counterpart for *cāṟu* or *tiruvila* in Tamil, and it may evoke for a western reader much more of the original picture of the poem, than would do the translation "festival" or "temple-festival".

(For further reading on this problem I suggest Eugene A. Nida's paper: "Linguistics and Ethnology in Translation Problems", in: Dell Hymes, "Language in Culture and Society. A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology" 1964. He gives examples from Bible translations

into languages of Middle-American Indians.)

2. The second point is closely connected with the first one: We have to consider **the target group of the translation** and **the purpose of the translation.** This point of view has often been neglected in articles on translation problems. Nevertheless it becomes pre-eminent when we want to criticize others' translations.

There are two main groups of readers:

a) The academic audience. In our context this would consist of philologists, mainly Indologists specialized in Tamil studies. A translation meant for this group may be included in a scientific paper and it may serve the purpose of illustrating or proving a particular thesis or clearing some doubts concerning the structure or other 'technical' elements of the poem. A translation in this context should be very literal. It does not need to be illustrative or explanatory, as the translator can count on the reader's knowledge of the cultural connotation conveyed by the words and on his linguistic skill. The translator may even have to sacrifice the beauty of the poem for the linguistic and structural exactness of his literal rendering. In this kind of translation it may also be permissible to retain some original terms, that serve as 'key-words', if there is no term with exactly the same connotations available in the target. language. A translation, however, may also serve the purpose of reflecting the translator's interpretation of the text.

b) The 'lay-public'. Here, the aim of the translation will be to bring the foreign literature closer to a wider public which consists of readers who, in no way, will be able to follow the original text--neither linguistically nor culturally. In this case the translation should, above all, be pleasant and 'readable'. The poem should be presented in an attractive form and should, as far as possible, answer to the aesthetical requirements of the reader. The translator may have to deviate from the original form and structure of the poem and elaborate the connotative meaning (s) in order to make the text understandable to a reader without adequate 'cultural knowledge'.

Another form of translation would be the one meant for both the groups mentioned above. This translation should follow 'the middle path', providing philological exactness and a pleasant reading at the same time. But past experience has shown that in most cases the one may have to be sacrificed for the other.

3. A nearly insoluble problem is posed by the **versification (especially metre and rhyme)** of Caṅkam poems. J.Parthasarathi in his paper "The Concept of Faithfulness in the Translation of Śaṅgam Poetry into English" (Proceedings of the 5th Intern. Conf.Sem.on Tamil Studies) approves K.Zvelebil's statement that "poetry should be translated into poetry only . . . ". And though he admits that "an exact counterpart cannot be had in any language of translation", he asks for "metrical approximation". His view that "the *akaval* metre (of *Kuṟuntokai*).... has no exact parallel in English" can't be accepted in this form, as there is no parallel at all to any Tamil metre in any European language.

The prosody of Tamil literature is the most indigenous element of its literary forms. Basing the metre on *acai*, and not considering *māttirai (matra)* as a prosodic unit, Tamil prosody differs widely even from the Sanskrit tradition. How should a "metrical approximation" in European languages be possible?

The same problem exists with reference to rhyme.

Pope's translation of *Tirukkural* may be cited here as a 'negative example' of what results in the attempt to translate 'poetry into poetry'. As an illustration I will give two verses:

Kural 1:

Akara mutala veluttellām āti
pakavan mutarrē ulaku.

Pope:

A, as its first of letters, every speech maintains; The 'Primal Deity' is First through all the world's domains.

Kural 19

Tānan tavamirandun taṅkā viyanula-kam
vānam valaṅkā tenin.

Pope:

If heaven its watery treasures ceases to dispense, Through the wide world cease gifts, and deeds of 'penitence'.

Not only that, for the sake of rhyme, some sort of violence is done to the English language here; also, the metre used by the translator does not at all reflect the dynamic of the *Kural.*

4. But the main problem posed by Caṅkam poems lies in the **language structure.** The brevity of expression is, so to speak, a 'trademark' of Caṅkam poems. But this peculiar brevity is possible only in a language with the structure of Tamil, the most crucial points for any translation being *peyareccam-* constructions and the forming of personal nouns, which allow an extreme brevity that cannot be copied in English or other European languages. Many poems get their 'vital spark' just by this brevity; their translations will certainly lack the poetic element of the poem. Let me take up as a simple example 2 lines from *Muttollā-yiram.* Here, the brevity of the poem is mainly due to very simple nominal-sentence-constructions. The king's elephant is described (text given with *sandhis* split, for convenience's sake)

Tōrram malai kaḍal ōcai puyal kaḍām
kārrin nimirnda celavirru....

Appuswami's translation reads thus:

"It looms like a mountain;
And trumpets like the sea;
While its must pours like rain;
Oh! Its sudden rush
Is swifter than a gale's . . ."

Though I think this translation is not too elaborate, the tension of the original is entirely lost.

Another example is the famous poem *kuruntokai* No.40. The terms

Yāyum ñāyum. . .
Entaiyum nuntaiyum. . .

providing the poem with a matchless density due to their brevity (apart from the effect obtained by the peculiar form of rhyme) have to be expressed more elaborately in English:

"my mother and your mother ......
my father and your father......

We will see more examples for this problem later, in the discussion of some poems.

5.) Further, we should not forget that Cankam poetry was meant for *recitation* rather than for reading.

a) Some translators try to solve the problem posed by the specific syntactical practicabilities of Tamil in printing their translation in a peculiar way, as A.K.Ramanujan describes his effort in the preface to his book "The Interior Landscape". "I have . . . broken up lines and arranged them in little blocks and paragraphs, or arranged them stepwise; I have tried to suggest by the spacing the distance or the closeness of elements in the original syntax, . . . ".

This may be the only way to make the formal structure of the poem intelligible to a non-Tamil reader. But it is a far deviation from the original purpose of the poem and it gives a false impression. We must not ignore that this way of arranging and printing the lines of a poem has been used as a stylistic element also in modern forms of poetry, thus it may be misinterpreted by some readers.

b) Another feature grown out of the oral character of these poems is the repetition of phrases, mostly epithets of a person or descriptions of land or landscape. Kailasapathy (1968: 137) calls these phrases "elements of production". A translator should be aware of these "elements" and he should be able to distinguish them from individual descriptions coined by one poet in order to depict a peculiar situation in a peculiar way, *without using* 'common phrases'. There may result a difference in stress laid upon a description by using a well known "element" or an individually coined one.

Coming to the end of this first part of my paper, I still want to pay attention to John R. Marr's article "The translation of Caṅkam Literature" (Proceedings of the 1st Intern. Conf. Sem. on Tamil Studies, pp. 841-46). For him, "one of the problems in translation works" lies in "the relevance of the translation, both in diction and subject-matter to the language-ethos of the tongue into which the translation is made". This corresponds with what we discussed here under point **1.** and **2.b.** Marr gives examples of translations from Caṅkam as well as from classical European literature into English. Further, he writes (p.843): "One of the difficulties in translating Caṅkam literature is that most clauses are really dependent upon one central idea, both syntactically and in subject-matter. Moreover, in the matter of word-order, this idea very often comes right at the end". In most cases, English (or other European languages) does not permit the retention of this word-order of the original. Concerning the subject-matter of *akam*, Marr writes (p.844): "When we come to consider *akam* poetry we come to the fact that, for the average reader, love-poetry in English means the poetry of actual experience of such writers as Byron, Shelley and Keats. The characters were real people, and even in our day we can feel their lives through their writing . . ." For an "average reader" with this cultural background, the highly conventional and formal character of *akam* poetry would

create a feeling of lifelessness and coldness, unless it were presented in a form corresponding to the reader's aesthetical sense. I may again refer to the facts discussed under point **2.b.**

Let us now have a look at some poems and their translations.

Kuṟuntokai 25

Yāru millait tāṉe kalvaṉ
Tāṉatu poyppiṉ yāṉevaṉ ceikō
Tiṉaittāl aṉṉa ciṟupacuṅ kāla
Oḻukunīr āral pārkkum
Kurukum uṇḍutāṉ mananta ñāṉṟe

A.K.Ramanujan

Only the thief was there, no one else.
And if he should lie, what can I do?

There was only a thin-legged heron standing on legs yellow as millet stems and looking for lampreys in the running water when he took me.

G.L.Hart

There was no one there,
only that man
who is like a thief.
If he lies, what can I do?
With little green legs like millet stalks,
a heron searched for eels in the running water
when he took me.

Shanmugam Pillai/Ludden

There was no one there.
If he is a thief
and his promises are lies
what shall I do?
Only the heron was there
on his thin, young legs,
like millet stalks,
watching the aral fish
in the running stream,
on that day when our hearts were wed.

Annamalai/Schiffmann

There were no witnesses
when he embraced me.
(If he leaves me now, what can I do?)
Only a heron stood by,
its thin gold legs like millet stalks,
eying the aaral-fish
in the flowing water.

C.&H.Jesudasan

None else was there, but only he, the thief;
Should he be false, what should I do?
And when we met, there was in our sight
Only the stork, with legs as thin as a wisp of straw,
That into the gliding water peered for prey.

F.Gros

Personne que lui, le fripon.
S'il S'en dédit, oh! que ferai-je?
Commes les tiges du mil, des pattes d'or grêles . . .
A l'affût des carpes, dans l'eau vive
Le héron aussi était là, quand lui m'enlaça.

K.Zvelebil

None else was there, but he, the thief.
If he denies it, what shall I do?
Only a heron stood by,

its thin gold legs like millet stalks
eyeing the aral-fish
in the gliding water
on the day he took me.

Kuruntokai 47

Karuṅkāl vēnkai vīyuku turukal
Irumpulik Kurulaiyir rōnrum kāttitai
Elli varunar kalavirku
Nallai yallai neduveṉ nilavē

A.K.Ramanujan

O long white moonlight,
you do him no good at all
as he comes stealing
through the night in the forest
where the black-stemmed venkai
drops its flowers
on the round stones
and makes them look
like tiger cubs
in the half-light.

G.L.Hart

Flowers have fallen from the black-stalked venkai-trees into round stones.
So they seem tiger cubs in the forest
where he comes at night
to do what he should not.
Better that you were not here,
O long white light of the moon

Shanmugam Pillai/Ludden

O long, white moonlight;
You are no help
for the romance of this man,
who must come through the forest
in the dark of night,
when the yellow flowers
of the venkai-tree
fall on a boulder,
to make it look
like a huge tiger cub.

Kuruntokai 97

Yāṉe yīndai yēnē yennalaṉe
Āṉa nōyodu kāna lahtē
Turaivaṉ tammū rāṉē
Maraiyalar āki maṉrat tahtē

A.K.Ramanujan

I am here. My virtue
lies in grief
in the groves near the sea.
My lover
is back in his hometown. And our secret
is with the gossips
in public places.

G.L.Hart

I am here.
My innocence is in the seagrove, gone,
and the pain never ends.
The shore man is in his town
and our secret is common gossip
in public places.

Shanmugam Pillai/Ludden

I am here.
My virtue lies in uncurable grief
in a grove by the sea.
My man is in his town,
and
our secret has become gossip
in public places.

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THE CONCEPT OF GOD IN ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

S.N.Kandaswamy

Introduction

The philosophical system of the Tamils, based on the *Śaiva Āgamas, Upaniṣads, Tirumuṟais* and *Meykaṇḍa Śāstras*, is known as *Śaiva Siddhānta. Siddhānta*[1] literally means the established conclusion and, in its extension of meaning, it denotes any system of philosophy. *Śaiva Siddhānta* indicates the philosophy of those who worship Lord Śiva as the Supreme Being. This system of philosophy has been very popular in South India as evidenced from the great temples dedicated to Lord Śiva and the mine of source materials embedded in the Tamil language.[2] It is a living system taking its origin in the Indus Valley Civilization.

As opposed to *Vedānta* (i.e. Conclusion of the *Vedas*), *Śaiva Siddhānta* is called *āgamānta* (i.e. the Conclusion of the *Āgamas*). The primary *Śaiva Āgamas* are twentyeight in number. Early available references to the *Āgamas* are found in the *Sāntiparva* of *Mahābhārata* and Badarayana's *Vedānta Sūtra* (Ramanujachari 1948:2). A.P.Karmarkar (1951:276) is of the opinion that the *Agamas* are older than the *Vedas*. The *Tirumantiram* (500 A.D.) preserves the quintessence of the *Śaiva Āgamas* and it is the earliest extant Tamil treatise on *Śaiva Siddhānta*. The name 'Śaiva Siddhānta' occurs in this text for the first time (*Tirumantiram* 5 : 1 : 3). Tiruñāṉa Campantar (7th century A.D.) extols Lord Śiva as *Ākamac Celvar* 'the Rich One who revealed the *Āgamas*' (*Tēvāram* 6:57:10). He also mentions that the people of Kōkaraṇam professed the faith of *Śaiva Āgamas* (*Tēvāram* 3:79:6).[3] His contemporary Saint Tirunāvukkaracar points out, in one of his hymns, that the Lord revealed the *Āgamas* to His consort, beneath the *marutam* tree in the shrine at Tiruviṭaimarutūr (*Tēvāram* 5:15:4). Cuntarar (8th century A.D.) praises the Lord as the Ancient One who revealed the *Āgamas* to the celestials (*Tēvāram* 7:84:8). He also refers in one of his last hymns to the chanting of *Śivanāma* by those who were well-versed in the *Āgamas* (*Tēvāram* 7:100:8). In one of his inscriptions, Rājasiṁha Pallava (691-729 A.D.) is mentioned as *ākamappiriyaṉ* 'lover of *Āgamas*' and *caiva cittāntattiṟ pēraṟivu uṭaiyavaṉ* 'one who has immense knowledge in *Śaiva Siddhānta*' (Racamanikkanar 1956:152-3; Mahalingam 1968:123). References to *Agamas* are many in *Tiruvaccakam* (*Tiruvaccakam* 1.4, 2.9-10, 17-20)[4] In this work, the author Maṇikkavacakar (800-900 A.D.) mentions that the Lord revealed the *Āgamas* to

His consort, in the Mount Mahendra.[5] He has also indicated the superiority of the *Āgamas* over the *Vedas* in the *Civapurāṇam*, the preface to *Tiruvācakam* (*Tiruvācakam* 1 : 1 4). In the opening portion of this hymn, he says that the Lord Himself is the *Āgama* conferring the bliss on His votaries. In a subsequent passage of the same hymn, he declares that the Lord transcends the triple dimensions of height, breadth and depth untouched by the *Vedas* assuming the subtlest form (*Tiruvācakam*, 34-5). References to the *Āgamas* in the *Meykanta Śāstras* are many.[6]

The *Saiva Siddhānta* is mainly the outcome of *Āgamic* tradition. But, this does not mean that it rejects the Vedic tradition.[7] The *Vedas* are held to be the general source for almost all the systems of Indian philosophy, including *Śaiva Siddhānta*. The *Āgamas* form the special source for this system. Most of the *Āgamas* contain four portions dealing with *cāriya*, *kriya*, *yoga* and *ñāna*. It is essential to note that the (*Pinkalamtai Nikantu* (800 A.D.), a metrical lexicon in Tamil, categorically states that *Āgama* means *nana*[8] (*Pinkalam* 236). From this, it may be understood that the *ñāna* portion of the *Āgamas* is very significant as it actually deals with the basic principles of *Śaiva Siddhānta*.

Chronologically speaking, the *Śaṅgam* classics (300 B.C. to 300 A.D.) are older than the *Tirumuṟais* (500 A.D.-1200 A.D.) and the *Meykanṭa Sastras* (c.A.D. 1200-1400). They bear ample testimony to the spiritual supremacy of Lord Siva.[9] Some of the principles of *Śaiva Siddhānta* are traceable to them. In the Buddhist Tamil epic, *Manimēkalai* (27:86-95) (5th 6th Centuries A.D.), there is a chapter that deals with the various *schools of Indian philosophy* which were current during the period of its author, Cāttaṉār. Among them, the Śaiva system is also included. The exponent of this system is known as *Śaiva vaṭi* (one who debates or argues for the cause of Śaivism) and through him Cāttanār expressed some of the doctrines of *Saiva Siddhānta*. It is interesting to note that Mādhva (1238 A.D.) in his *Sarvadarśana Samgraha* (ch.VII) presented the principles of *Saiva Siddhānta* under the caption *Śaivadarsana*.

The heyday of *Saiva Siddhānta* is the period of the imperial Cōḻas. The temples, being the centre of arts and religion, were constructed in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Śaiva Āgamas*. *Ñānāmirutam* (12th century A.D.), a classical text on *Saiva Siddhānta* was written by Vākica Muṉivar in the style of *Sangam* Tamil.[10] Subsequently, two more works viz.,*Tiruvuntiyār* and *tirukkaḷiṟṟup-patiyār* were composed respectively by Uyyavantatēvar of Tiruviyalūr and of Tirukkaṭavūr. Then commences the renowned *Meykanṭār* school of *Śaiva Siddhānta*.

Meykantar (13th century A.D.) is highly esteemed as the first systematic exponent of the *Siddhānta* philosophy. His immortal treatise *Civañāṉapōtam* and its metrical commentary *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* by his disciple Arunanticivam form the foundational bedrock upon which the edifice of the existing *Śaiva Siddhānta* is erected. Another great exponent Umāpaticivam (14th century A.D.), the disciple of Maraiñāṉa Campantar, nurtured the system by his contribution of eight works on this subject.[11] Among them, *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* and *Tiruvarutpayan*

are held in high esteem. Civañāṇa Muṉivar (1800 A.D.), the commentator of the *Siddhānta* canonical works, is respected as the 'official' interpreter of the system.

Śaiva Siddhānta is a theistic philosophy. It deals with both religion and philosophy. It is also known as pluralistic realism, since it accepts more than one reality to be eternal entities. It deals with the three eternal realities, viz., *pati, pasu* and *pāsa*. All categories that are perceived and conceived are brought under these three. *Pati* indicates the Supreme Lord. *Pasu* denotes the myriad souls. *Pāsa* refers to the triple bonds of *āṇava, karma* and *māya*. All the three realities are ever-existing. Like God, *pasu* and *pāsa* are not created. Among the three, *pati* alone is independent, omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent. The soul's faculties are restricted and constricted from the very beginning due to its envelopment by the root evil, *āṇava*. In order to eliminate this evil, the Lord, out of His mercy, creates the world from *māya*, the primordial matter and provides the desolated souls with the necessary equipment just to enable them to engage in activities with the ultimate purpose of casting away the evil and to gain eternal union with Him.

With this background, an attempt is being made here to outline the concept of God as found in *Śaiva Siddhānta*. Only after having understood the existence of God, one would aspire to know about His nature in order to develop a sense of devotion to realise and reach Him. First, let us consider the important proofs for His existence.

Proofs for the Existence of God

Śaiva Siddhānta is firmly rooted on revelation. Like all other theistic schools, it gives due importance to scripture to prove the existence of God. The biography and literature of the *Śaiva Nāyaṉmārs* disclose the fact that they came into direct communion with God. For them, God was not a subject of investigation, but an object of experience. Their personal experience with the Lord is beautifully portrayed in the emotional outpourings of their devotional literature. But there are some systems of Indian philosophy which do not accept verbal testimony as a valid source of knowledge. To them, citations from the religious hymns do not carry any weight. God is held to be transcending all limits of our knowledge. He is supersensuous. So, sense-perception is naturally to be eliminated to prove His existence. Some other means acceptable to both the parties are to be sought. Inference is admitted as a sound source of valid knowledge by all systems except Carvaka. So, the exponents of *Śaiva Siddhānta* endeavour to establish the existence of God through inference that leads one from the seen to the unseen.

Cosmolcgical argument

Vākīcamuṉivar, the author of *Ñāṉāmirutam* (57:1-3) presents *cosmological* argument based on inference to prove the existence of God. According to this argument, the aggregation of the gross elements commencing from earth and various objects like mountains that constitute the universe should have a creator, because these components are products without comparison. The example given to support the proposition is that of a pot. The syllogism of this argument requires some elucidation. A product is one which is subject to division and which undergoes changes. Each

one of the contents of the phenomenal world is divisible and mutable. Since the products are inert and non-intelligent, they require an all-intelligent being for their division and changes characterised by production, existence and destruction. Since the intelligence of the souls is limited and they get the knowledge only after getting a body, they could not effect the changes and classification all by themselves. Any product for its inception requires the co-operation of three causes, viz., the material cause, the instrumental or auxiliary cause and the efficient cause, as evidenced from the empirical experience. For the production of a pot, clay is the material cause, the potter's wheel and other instruments are the auxiliary cause, while the potter is the efficient cause. The world is a product and its production also involves three causes. *Māyā*, the primordial matter, is the material cause. Śiva's inseparable Śakti and the root *karma* of the souls form the auxiliary cause, while Śiva Himself is the Efficient Cause. Śiva through the instrumentality of His Śakti causes the universe to emerge from *Māyā*.

According to *Śaiva Siddhānta*, God does not create the souls or the primordial matter which are eternal like Himself. Eternity does not mean equality. Just like the potter who cannot create clay but can effect only the pot, so also the Lord creates only the manifested world and not its primal core, i.e. *māyā* which is ever existing. In *Śaiva Siddhānta*, creation means the *kāraṇa rūpa* (i.e. the causal form of *māyā*) assuming the *kārya rūpa* (i.e. the effected form of *māyā*), while destruction means the *kārya rūpa* returning to its original state of *kāraṇa rūpa*. There is no complete destruction. *Kārya rūpa* is fleeting and ephemeral, while *kāraṇa rūpa* is a reality.

Though the ***cosmological*** argument attempts to prove the existence of God, it is not free from defects. Standing from the side of a novice, the author of *Ñāṉāmirutam* finds some flaws in the theory of causation. The first remark is as follows (*Ñāṉāmirutam* 57:4-8):

A man, who has noticed the co-presence of a pot and its maker at one place, notices only the pots at a different place and not their maker. His previous knowledge of concomitance of the potter and the pot educates him in the second instance to infer that there should be a potter, even though he was not seen there. But with regard to the universe, if one has ever seen the creator and the universe existing side by side, then if he happens to witness a different universe without the presence of its maker, he could very well infer the existence of its author. This riddle is resolved by the author through an illustration (*Ñāṉāmrutam* 57:9-18). A person observes the concomitance of a small column of smoke and fire in a kitchen and similar places. In a different situation, he happens to notice a large column of smoke on the summit of a mountain. It is reasonable for him to infer the existence of a large fire in the invisible part of the mountain. Despite the difference in the volume of smoke, the common feature in both cases being smoke, which is always concomitant with its cause viz., fire, forms the symbol of inference. If it is admitted that the world is a product, then there is little hesitation to account for its creator. Whether the product is a small one

like the pot or a stupendous one like the universe, it requires a producer. Further, it is to be understood that analogy is always partial and one should not read complete agreement between the objects of comparison and objects compared. The purpose of the above comparison is to indicate that every product, whether it is small or big, requires a causal agency and to exhibit the known in order to infer the unknown.

However, the reality of God cannot be grasped completely by cold logic or subtle philosophical theories which only provide the clue to the understanding of the absolute reality.

The second remark (*Ñāṉāmrutam* 57:19-20) is with regard to the nature of ether which is incorporeal *(arūpa)* and hence would not be a product, even through it forms part of the universe. But, Vākīcamuṉivar rejects this view stating that even ether is undoubtedly a product, since a product is characterised by its quality and ether has sound for its quality. Further, the sound potential, being an aspect of ether, is mingled in the remaining four gross elements (i.e. air, fire, water and earth). For this reason, these elements are said to be the constituent members of ether. So, ether is divisible. What is divisible should be a product. Since these products have origination, they are subject to decay and their changes account for an efficient cause (*Ñāṉāmrutam* 57:21-3).

The Meykaṇṭar School

The *cosmological* argument advanced by Vākīcamuṉivar is further developed in the *Meykaṇḍar* school, as noticed in *Civañāṉa pōtam (ciṟṟurai* 1981:8-20) and *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* (1:1-17). The first aphorism in *Civañāṉa pōtam* purports to prove the existence of God through *analogical* reasoning.

The world is inert and non-intelligent. It undergoes three operative functions viz., production, maintenance and destruction. Among the three, through the first two functions it assumes *sthūlarūpa* (i.e concrete, visible form), while through the last one, it resolves into its original *sūkṣmarūpa* (subtle, invisible form). Since the world is inert, it cannot dissovle into its causal form and also it cannot manifest again all by itself. So, the reality of the phenomenal world comes out of the ground of God whither it is resolved and whence it re-emerges. The reason for the dissolution is to give rest to the wearied souls and for the recreation is to enable them to exhaust their *āṇava*. The cosmic changes could be effected only by one who is changeless. From the seen world, the reality of its author viz., the unseen God, is to be inferred.

The first aphorism, like the rest, is terse and cryptic. It contains three parts known as *adhikaraṇa*, each of which is formulated in a syllogistic form. Let us consider them one by one.

First Adhikaraṇa (Part I)

The proposition or thesis (i.e. *pratijñā* or *svapakṣa)* is that the phenomenal world, identified as he, she and it, undergoes three fold changes viz., production, maintenence and destruction.

The *prima facie* view or antithesis *(pūrvapakṣa* or *parapakṣa)* questions

the validity of the above statement raising the doubt whether the universe undergoes the aforesaid changes.

This member of the syllogism represents the view of the opposing systems. The *Lokāyatas* of the Non-Vedic group and the *Mimamsakas* of the Vedic group envisage that the world is eternal and it is improper to state that it suffers changes and for this reason it requires an intelligent agent known as God.

The rejoinder to this objection to pass for a conclusion is known as *Siddhānta* which is supported by two other members viz., reason and example. To establish the original proposition, the following three reasons are adduced by the *Śaiva Siddhāntin*.

1. The sense-perceived universe is made up of various parts. It is a composite whole. A composite is conditioned by a cause or causes. The component parts that constitute the universe are conveniently classified on the principle of gender, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter. A particular object in the universe is a 'he' or 'she' or it'. 'He' or 'she' denotes only the physical features of the sentient beings for there is no gender in the soul, while 'it' indicates the inorganic and non-sentient beings. This sort of classification or division, regularity and design could not be self-made. Therefore, it is suggested that there must be a classifier or designer.

2. Each one of the component parts in the entire universe differs from one another. There is difference between two men, two women and two things. There is no sameness even between two homogeneous things. There are innumerable kinds of things belonging to inert matter. Manifoldness and materiality are the significant features of the phenomenal world which could not self-exist. *Śaiva Siddhānta* postulates the difference in the *karma* of the individuals for the difference in their being. There should be an intelligent cause to effect the diversity and mutability of things in the universe.

3. The sense-percieved objects that constitute the visible universe are liable to undergo changes and transformations. That which is cognized through the means of determinate perception is known as *acētaṉapirapañcam* (insentient material universe) which is classified as he, she and it. These things being the object of determinate perception are subject to change. So, the phenomenal world as it appears could not be considered as an entity, since an entity could not be divided into parts, and also it should not suffer change which occurs only in that which is made up of parts.

To sum up, since the phenomenal world is classified into three broad divisions, each of which is manifold and different from one another undergoing transformations and also becoming the subject of determinate perception, there must be an omniscient being to effect the changes.

The example to support the aforestated reasoning is that of a cloth. In the cloth, the manifold inert yarns constitute the warp and woof which, being the component parts of the cloth, suggest the existence of its weaver. The weaver of the universe is God.

This syllogistic inference is admissible only to the *Mīmāmsakas*

who accepted *anumāna* as a valid source of knowledge. But, the *Lokāyatas* (the Indian materialists) do not accept *anumāna*. Their only source of valid knowledge is perception. In order to convince them, the *Śaiva Siddhāntin* employs *pratyaksa* (perception) to establish his original proposition viz., that the universe is subject to threefold changes. The adduced reason is as follows:

"Because origin and end lay on the sides of the existing thing". Without origination, the particular thing could not have come into existence. So, existence indicates its previous position of origination, for without origination existence is impossible and inconceivable. It is followed by destruction. Mere *observation or perception is enough* to instruct the *Lokāyata* that the sense-perceived things undergo threefold changes as mentioned above. Since the component parts are subject to change, the universe being the whole should naturally undergo the same changes. To explain this point, an analogy is given:

A particular kind of plants, fruits or insects appears in a particular season and goes out of existence at the end of it. This process is repeatedly seen. So also, the phenomenal world which is ephemeral comes into existence, stays for some period and again resolves back to its original state.

Second Adhikaraṇa (Part II)

This *adhikaraṇa* is intended for those, especially the *Sāṁkhyas*, who admit that the universe undergoes changes, but do not accept an intelligent agent to effect the changes.

The members of the syllogism pertaining *to this second part of the argument* are the following:

Proposition: 'The world exists'.
Reason: Because there is no origin to that which does not exist.
Example (negative): Like the hare's horn.

In the calf of a cow and in the young one of a hare, the horn is not found. When the calf grows, the horn is seen visibly in its head. But, in the case of the hare, the horn is absent completely at all times. This indicates that which is not, could not come into existence like the hare's horn, and also it implies that what was already there in abstract and unseen form *(sūkṣma) is evolved into a concrete and visible* form *(sthūla)* like the calf's horn. The effect is emanated from its cause in which it existed already implicitly. The essence of effect is not different from its cause. This concept is known as *Satkāryavāda* in *Śaiva Siddhānta*. The rational basis of this concept may be exemplified. From clay, only a pot could be produced *and not a cloth*. From a timber, a chair could be made and not a jewel. The significant relationship between the cause and effect is to be considered.

The *Satkāryavāda* out of logical necessity postulated the existence of the primordial entity (the material cause) known as *māyā* -- the seed principle out of which the parts that form the universe are evolved and into which they again resolve. *Māyā* is a very subtle entity in which the phenomenal world exists implictly before its manifestation, just like a big banyan tree is latent in a minute, tiny seed, prior to its evolution.

Next, the *Śaiva Siddhāntin* proceeds to postulate the existence of the efficient cause and instrumental cause. The syllogism for this postulation is as follows:

Proposition: The existing world has a creator.
Reason: Because that which exists could not be produced without a creator.

The *Sāṁkhyas* held that the world would evolve by itself from the primordial matter, and hence no need for a creator. Though they accepted *Satkāryavāda*, they did not accept an efficient cause. The *Śaiva Siddhāntin* points out the defect in their argument and stresses on the necessity of threefold causes for the production of anything that we have already noted. One could amplify the examples. A pot requires a potter, a chair a carpenter and a book, an author. But one cannot question who is the creator of God, for it would lead to infinite regress. That is why the Absolute is depicted in the Tamil devotional literature as one having no father and mother *(cilappatikāram* 5:169, *Tiruvācakam*12:3).

After proving the existence of God, the *Śaiva Siddhāntin* proceeds to propound that the efficient cause should be the Universal Destroyer. The syllogism for this argument follows thus:

Proposition: There is no evolution except in dissolution.
Reason: Because it (the evolved world) becomes dissolved there (in involution)

Even if one accepts the efficient cause for the creation of the world, views differ with regard to the agency in the theistic schools. The *Pāñcarātras* held that the protecting agent, Vāsudeva should be the efficient cause, while the *Brahmavādins* maintained in its place the creating agent, Brahma. According to *Śaiva Siddhānta*, these are petty deities and they are only the evolved souls. By virtue of their accumulated merit, they obtained the authority from the Mahādeva (Lord Śiva) to create and to protect. Further, the elements and worlds existing in the five *kalās* viz., *Nivṛtti, Pratiṣṭhā, Vidyā, Śānti* and *Śāntiyatīta* are respectively absorbed by Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Ananda and Sadāśiva under the mandate of Lord Śiva who actually actuates the *Mahāsaṁhāra* (the Great Cosmic involution) through the agency of Sadāśiva. So, the operative agents stand to Lord Śiva what the ministers to the emperor. There may be many directed agents to carry out the various activities; but, Lord Śiva is held to be the directing overall agent. K.Sivaraman (1973: 47-50) in his dissertation explains this concept of Supreme God thus:

"The entire universe with its creators, conservers and destroyers is under Śiva's control even as dried leaves whirl under the control of a stormy wind. . . The Destroyer is the only transcendent Being *(tattvātīta)*, transcending all *tattvas*........ The designation of the Supreme Reality as Destroyer is metaphysical as it is also mystical. The Concept of Destroyer represents God as the Universal Being. Everything is 'nought' *(śūnya)* before Being. God is not something or someone which exists along with the totality of beings. He is Being itself. . . The Destroyer stands for eternity which truly transcends temporality. . . Only the Destroyer is the Death of Death *(kālakāla)*, the realm beyond the realm destroyed, and is the ultimate foundation of ontological course

in the face of anxiety of transitoriness".

During the period of *Mahāpralaya*, the whole universe with all its contents including the aforesaid minor gods are dissolved in Him. Hara (another name for Śiva) is the Universal Destroyer who is the ground of the dissolved universe. The phenomenal world is resolved in its material cause, *Māyā*, which takes its ground under the feet of the Lord. The relationship between the material cause (*māyā* and the efficient cause (the Lord) is described as *abhinnābhāva*, i.e., inseparable union like that of Vyāpaka and Vyāpya (the Pervader and the Pervaded) and that of *ādhāra* and *ādheya* (the Supporter and the Supported).

God as the Material Cause

The material cause *māyā*, its product the world, and the ground of *māyā*, viz., Lord's Śakti, are compared to the seed, its shoot and earth (*Civañāṉapōtam* 15-16). If the seed comes into contact with the moist earth, it becomes capable of manifesting a shoot. So also, if *māyā* reposing at the feet of the Lord receives the Divine Will of His Śakti, it becomes capable of manifesting the world. If there is no moisture in the earth, the seed could not shoot. Likewise, if there is no will of Lord's Śakti, then *māyā* could not evolve. The world is evolved from *māyā* with the will of Lord's Śakti which functions in accordance with the individual's *mala* to endow the concerned souls with the different types of psycho-physical organisms.

But some passages in the *Tirumuṟais* and *Āgamas* reveal that the world is emanated from God Himself (*Tiruvācakam* 3:44; *Civañāṉapōtam* p.16). These portions are taken in a literal sense by some people who argue that God forms not only the efficient cause but also the material cause.[12] Such misunderstanding would go against the same literature which describes Him to be immutable. Though the Lord transcends all the elements that constitute the universe, He is simultaneously immanent in them. His immanence should not be mistaken for material causality. Civañāṉamuṉivar, (*Civañāṉapōtam* p.16; *Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:48) the able exponent of *Śaiva Siddhānta*, submits an illustration to explain the figurative expressions in the texts. The lotus actually germinates from its root and not from the mud though it gets the name *paṅkayam* which really means that which is born of mud. Similarly, the world is evolved directly from its root *māyā* and not from God. Nevertheless, it is figuratively said that the world is proceeded from God who actually provides the ground for *māyā*. So, the material universe (i.e., non-intelligent principle) could not originate from the Intelligent Principle, viz., God.

If God is held to be the material cause, the product (i.e., world) also should resemble Him in content and quality. Since there are many imperfections and defects in the world, they are also to be accounted for from the material cause. Since God is conceived to be absolutely perfect, impeccable and immutable by nature, He could not be postulated to be the material cause which is subject to changes. The defects and diverse features are due to *āṇava* and *mūla-karma* of the souls.

However, K.Sivaraman (1973: 112-15) attempts to explain the

material causality in order to reconcile the two views in the following passage of his dissertation.

"The intelligent agent of the world is not as such the material cause of the world but only as related to the non-intelligent *maya*. . . . . . It is efficient cause which is also material cause by virtue of its being inseparably qualified by *māyā*...... Just as the the hair and the nails, etc., are not born of the body alone (insentient) or the soul alone (sentient), so the universe is born not of *māyā* alone or Maheśvara alone, but of the Embodied Unity which is accordingly described as the 'womb of all elements' and also as the Supreme Lord, the Mighty etc. . ." His interpretation obviously confirms the sole causality of God.

Third Adhikarana (Part III)

This *adhikaraṇa* is devoted to clarify whether the efficient cause of the universe is one or many. *Śaiva Siddhānta* advocates monotheism, and so it does not subscribe to the view of polytheism. The syllogism is as follows:

Proposition: The Universal Destroyer is the Primal Mover of the universe.

The second *adhikaraṇa* concludes that the primary God to the universe is the Universal Destroyer. This *adhikaraṇa* examines the view of the polytheists. They argue that the production of a chariot involves many carpenters and the creation of a more wonderful and stupendous universe naturally should require more than one God. But their concept is refuted by the *Saiva Siddhāntin* maintining His propostion:

Reason: Because the souls that cognize things through determinate perception have no independence without the Universal Destroyer, who transcends such a kind of perception.

Śaiva Siddhānta subsumes all the minor gods and the spiritually elevated souls under the category of *pasu*. There are also the defective souls. They are all dependent on Lord Śiva who alone is independent, omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent. Though there are many carpenters in fashioning a chariot, all of them are directed by one Master Carpenter. So also, the deities are not autonomous and they discharge the assigned duties under the overall supervision and direction of the Supreme God Śiva. The released souls which obtained godliness (*sivatvam)* would not account for the cosmic functions, for they are held to be in constant enjoyment of eternal bliss of the Lord which is the *summum bonum* of their spiritual sojourn.

Another Version of Cosmological Argument

There are many types of cosmological arguments propounded by the western thinkers to prove the existence of God. One of them is the argument from motion. It is as old as Plato and Aristotle and it is fashioned by St.Thomas Aquinas (Hick 1973:71-3). According to this argument, the things in the universe are movable and they require a mover. There are two kinds of movers, viz., the primary and secondary. If there is no primary mover, then there are no subsequent movers. For instance, the book is moved by hand which in turn is moved by the consciousness of one's self. To avoid

infinite regress, it is postulated that there should be a First Mover who causes everything to move, but Himself is not moved by anything. Movement of an object indicates passing from one place or condition to another. It is always associated with variation, mutation, limit and contingency. The ultimate force or Prime Mover should be free from mutation, limitation and temporality, and that is the eternal reality.

According to Plato, the power that generates motion should be logically anterior to the power that gets it and passes it on. This primal force is the uncaused cause. His disciple, Aristotle envisaged that change implied an unchanging absolute source of motion which could be designated as God.

This sort of cosmological argument is not unknown to *Śaiva Siddhānta* (*Ñāṉāmrutam* 58:4-7). The commentator (before A.D.1700) of *Ñāṉāmirutam* presents from the contents of the text the following five-membered syllogism:

Proposition: The universe should have a creator.

Reason: Since it is inert, its evolution and resolution would become impossible without an intelligent being.

Example: Like: the vehicles such as a chariot etc.

Application: The vehicles could not move by themselves. They require a driver to move them.

Conclusion: So also, the universe requires a mover who actuates it in accordance with the Moral Law.

Thus, the existence of the Primal Mover is established.

However, the author from the standpoint of a novice produces two examples to propose that even inanimate objects possess the force of motion. They are:

1. Cow's milk is inert. But it nurtures the calf to grow.
2. The insentient magnet attracts the inanimate filament of iron.

Nevertheless, the author exposes the folly of the examples pointing out that the milk is possible only from a sentient cow, and an intelligent agent is essential to bring the magnet and iron in close quarters, thus making the original proposition tenable and reasonable.[13]

In this context, it is appropriate to quote Tirikūṭarācappakkavirāyar (A.D.1700), a great *Śaiva* poet, who beautifully portrays that the Lord set all the worlds in motion and they revolve like toys without thread (by the mere will of God) (*Tirukkuṟṟālakkuṟavañci* p.119). The concept of God as the Prime Mover is further attested to in one of the poems of Tāyumāṉavar (18th century A.D.), who declares that even an atom could not move without Him.[14] There is a reference to this idea in *Kenopaniṣad* also.[15]

Moral Argument

The supplementary argument adduced in favour of the theistic hypothesis is known as the *moral* argument. The cosmological argument attempts to prove the efficient cause of the universe. The purpose of the moral argument is to point out that the Lord is also the Moral Governor of the universe who effects orderliness in the life of individuals on the basis of their actions. This

argument stands on the doctrine of *karma*. Saint Cēkkilār (*Tiruttondar Purāṇam* 34:5) enumerates four cardinal tenets of Śaivism viz., 1. the soul performing the *karma*; 2. the performed deeds; 3. their effects and 4. the Lord who allots the fruits of the deeds to the respective souls. These four aspects are further attested to by Umāpati-civam (*Tiruvarutpayan* 53) and they are very important to apprehend the moral argument. In order to exhaust the potency of āṇava, the soul is invested with a body, a habitat and objects of experience. In the embodied condition, the soul is capable of engaging in multifarious activities which may be good or bad, but they are forgotten or neglected. According to *Śaiva Siddhānta*, everyone is conditioned and governed by the doctrine of *karma*. Nobody can escape the consequences of one's own deeds. The law of *karma* is relentless and inexorable. 'As we sow so we reap' is the Tamil proverb. Though the doer ignores or forgets his actions, they are taken into account by the Unseen Absolute Observer who distributes the deserts to the individual. The present life of a person is the outcome of his deeds in the past birth and also it prepares for the future. The Lord leaves free will to the individual either to make or mar his future. In this sense, the man is held to be the architect of his own self.

The Jains uphold that the *Karma* itself can yield fruits and there is no need for God. They give a fine simile to explain their view. In the herd of cows, a particular calf, if released, would search and reach its own mother to suckle the milk. So also the fruit of *karma* by itself would identify and join its doer in the midst of many (*Nālatiyār* 101). But the folly of this analogy is noted by the *Śaiva Siddhāntin*. The *karma* is insentient, while the calf is sentient. So, a sentient being is not a comparison to an insentient object and hence, the analogy is fallacious. Civañāṉacittiyār also refers to a similar comparison. One may say that *karma* can fructify all by itself just like an arrow travelling by itself. But it has been pointed out that this analogy is equally shortsighted, since without an archer the travel of an arrow is impossible. The Tamil proverb says that there is no point in blaming the arrow when there is an archer who shot it. So, *Śaiva Siddhānta* concludes that the *karma* becomes inert and insentient and hence it cannot remember or identify its doer to join him. Then, it follows that there should be an omniscient Being to administer the fruits of *karma* to the concerned doer. The Absolute Being is held to be the Legislator and Executor of moral law.[16] He is also the Divine Justice who is impartial in dispensing the law. The God as moral governor is compared to the king, physician and parents. If the subjects go astray, they are penalised by the king. If they do some signal service, they are rewarded. The Lord is the Ruler of the Universe. If there is any upset in the natural course of the Universe, He sets it right. The *purāṇic* stories of punishing the atrocious demons and *rākṣasas* are ample evidence for the Lord's moral administration. He punishes the wicked in order to make them realise the folly of their conduct and to instruct the need for undertaking a virtuous way of life. All such actions are reformatory in character. He showers grace on the virtuous people offering all benevolence. The chastening

by the Lord is for the betterment of the souls. *Śaiva Siddhānta* • classifies Lord's grace into two, viz., (1) virtuous grace *(arakkarunai)* -- this is meant for the virtuous souls, and (2) heroic grace *(marakkarunai)* -- this is directed towards the vicious souls.

God is also compared to the physician. "The physician doctors the body, whereas God doctors the soul". The concept of God as a healer or physician is also found in Buddhism and Christianity. The physician administers at times bitter medicines to the patient and also prescribes sugercoated pills in order to relieve him from physical ailments. Similarly, the pains and pleasures being the consequence of one's own deeds are carefully given as medicine by God as a remedy to the malady of transmigration which is considered a great disease. Saint Tirunāvukkaracar (*Tēvāram* 6:54:8) extols the Lord as the Great Physician who alone could cure the incurable disease of birth.

God is also compared to the parents. He is the parent patronizing all kinds of beings in all ages at all places. If the children are mischievous, it is the duty of the parents to correct them. *Civañāṇa Cittiyār* (2:2:12-16, 30-5) says, "Parents thrash their children for disobedience and handcuff them -- punishing them, not because they hate their children but because they love them though it may not appear to be so". They actually derive great pleasure on hearing the rare achievements of their children. Like the parents, God treats the souls through punishments and reward, with the sole purpose of liberating them from the clutches of mundane life.

God is also compared to the washerman (Kandaswamy 1976:331-32). The washerman smashes the cloth against the washing stone not to tear it, but to cleanse it. The pain inflicted by God is merely the bleaching powder to wash away the impurity of the soul.

The concept of God as a moral governor is very old in the Tamil tradition. *Tolkāppiyam* (col.57) designates the Lord as 'Fate deciding God' *(pālvarai teyvam)*. The same idea is preserved in *Tiruccirrampalakkōvaiyār* (8) of Māṇikkavācakar. The ancient Tamil ethics, *Tirukkural* denotes God as *vakuttāṉ* meaning Apportioner. "Those who have accumulated wealth could enjoy nothing but what the Divine Disposer has apportioned to them", *(Tirukkural* 377) declares Tiruvalluvar. From this couplet, it is crystal clear that Tiruvalluvar represents the Tamil tradition which preserves firm belief in the Divine dispensation.

Thus it is evident that *Śaiva Siddhānta* postulates the fact of absolute God in order to account for the fact of ethical order.

After realising the *existence* of God, let us now proceed to know about His nature, functions and forms, His relation with the souls and the ways of realising Him as evidenced from the *Śaiva* lore.

Nature of God

Śaiva Siddhānta identifies two-fold nature of God known as *Svarūpalakṣaṇa (Cirappu iyalpu)* and *Tatasthalakṣaṇa (Potu iyalpu)*. *Svarūpalakṣaṇa* denotes his essential and intrinsic nature, while *Tatasthalakṣaṇa* refers to His general or accidental nature that

arises due to His relation to the souls. God in His essential nature is static, immutable and immeasurable by the limits of time and space. He transcends all the sources of empirical knowledge. He has no name and form. Māṇikkavācakar refers to (*Tiruvācakam* 11:1,7:10) this nature of God in his *Tiruvācakam* as *orunāmam ōruruvam oṉṟumilāṉ*, *ētu avaṉ ūr? ētu avaṉ pēr?* etc., God is the Pure Being (*Sat*), the very source of all knowledge (*Cit*) and eternal bliss (*Ānanda*). The *Saiva Āgamas* mention eight divine qualities to be His essential characteristics, as identified by Parimēlaḻakar, a staunch *Vaiṣṇavite* in his learned commentary on *Tirukkuṟal*. They are the following:

	Tamil	Sanskrit	English equivalent
1.	*Taṉvayattaṉ ātal*	*Svatantra*	Self-dependence
2.	*Tūya uṭampiṉaṉ ātal*	*Viśuddha deha*	Immaculate Body
3.	*Iyaṟkai uṇarviṉaṉ ātal*	*Anādhi bodham*	Natural understanding
4.	*Muṟṟum uṇartal*	*Sarvajñata*	Omniscience
5.	*Iyalpākavē pācaṅkaḷiṉ niṅkutal*	*Nirāmayam*	Eternally free from bonds
6.	*Perarulutaimai*	*Nityalūptaśaktitva*	infinite grace
7.	*Muṭivil āṟṟal utaimai*	*Anantaśaktita*	infinite potency
8.	*Varampil iṉpam utaimai*	*Nityatriptaka*	infinite bliss

Since the Lord is associated inherently with these eight divine attributes, He is known as *enkuṇattāṉ*; this term occurs in the nineth couplet of the first chapter in *Tirukkuṟal* (i.e., *Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻttu* 'the Praise of God') and hence one commentator ably attempted to isolate the eight qualities under reference in the first eight couplets of the same chapter.[17] Some considered that the third and the fourth qualities may be counted as one as well as the second and fifth as one. Thus the Lord is said to possess six divine characteristics and hence He is known as *Pakavaṉ* which name occurs in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, *Tirukkural* and Tevaram to denote Lord Siva (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 3:11, *Tēvāram* 1:121:1). However, Māṇikkavācakar reminds one that the Lord's auspicious qualities are innumerable (*Tiruvācakam* 2:3).

God in His essential nature is called *Paraśivam* or *Svarūpaśivam*, and His inseparable energy is known as *Parāśakti*.

Out of His boundless compassion towards the souls, He becomes dynamic through His will of Divine energy, assuming various forms and names for the benefit of the souls. "The Real appears in diverse ways. But the appearances are of the Real. The appearances, while not exhaustive of the Real, are adequate for the purpose for which they are manifested and are wholly satisfying to the persons concerned. . . While the Infinite in its Grace is pleased to make itself available to the souls, it cannot be possessed in its fullness

by the souls" (Devasenapathi 1963:16-17). These forms are not material, but they are out of His Grace, which is otherwise known as *Śakti*. In this state, god becomes *Śivam* and *Śakti* to commence the cosmic functions. *Tatastha* forms of God become the object of worship. So, it is held that *Tatastha* form is not illusory and it is as real as *Svarūpa* form.

Svarūpa and *Tatastha* concept of God should not be equated respectively with the concept of *Nirguna Brahman* and *Saguṇa Brahman* of *Vedānta* philosophy. *Nirguṇa Brahman* is devoid of any quality or attribute and it is a mere abstraction. But *Svarūpaśiva* has countless divine qualities. *Saguna Brahman* of *Vedānta* has material qualities and it is only fictitious like a snake in rope, water in mirage etc. But, *Tatasthaśiva* is a reality of the Absolute. However, in the Saiva Tamil devotional literature, God is depicted as one who has no quality or symbol which means that He is devoid of material qualities and forms (*Tiruvācakam* 6:46, 18:1, 24:4, 4:4, 41:6). It is worth mentioning that Tirumular praises the Lord as one who is bereft of the triple material *gunas*, viz., *sattva*, *rājas* and *tamas* (*Mukkuṇa nirkkuṇan*) (*Tirumantirum* 8:9:1).

Transcendence and Immanence

The spiritual experiences of the Tamil *Śaiva* saints as recorded in the devotional literature reveal the Lord's transcendental as well as immanent features. Let us briefly present some of the features.

God transcends description. He is beyond the word and its content (*Tiruvācakam* 3:40,111; 27:4). He transcends the five-fold sense-perception (*ibid.*, 3:113, 5:76). He is beyond the ken of thought (*ibid.*, 1:24, 3:41, 4:204, 7:7, 10:16). He is impenetrable even by the Scriptures (*ibid.*, 3:49, 5:95, 11:4). He is *inconceivable* not only to the deities but also to the Hindu Trinities(*ibid.*, 4:1-9, 5:30,43; 8:2 11:14, 41:1). He surpasses the limits of beginning, middle and end of things (*ibid.*, 1:41, 73). He transcends all the elements (*Tattvātīta*). He has no origin and so no decay (*ibid.*, 4:133,5:70,7:1). He is eternal and immutable (*ibid.*, 5:91,22:5). He is free from bondage and liberation (*Civañāṉacittiyar* 1:44). Before His greatness, even the universe is but an atom. Before His subtle state, even an atom would become the magnificent universe (*Tiruvācakam* 3:5-12, *Ñāṉām-rutam* 55:21-3). His greatness cannot be exhausted. He is omniscient (*Tiruvācakam* 1:38,40; 4:107,5:50,25:10). Though God transcends everything, He pervades all objects. He is immanent in all animate and inanimate beings. He is their indweller and inner ruler. This feature of God is known as *antaryāmitva* which occupies a supreme place also in the *Vaisṇava* theology (Radhakrishnan 1960:53-4).

The Lord abides everywhere without leaving any space (*Tiruvācakam 3:116-17*). He (*ibid.*, 15:5) is immanent in the five gross elements (viz., earth, water, fire, air and ether) and in the sun, moon and the souls (collectively known as *Aṣṭamūrta*). He is seated in the consciousness and also in the organs of knowledge (*ibid.*, 33:5, 34:4). He is the soul of all souls (*ibid.*, 1:69, 2:2, 22:4).

His immanence with the souls and matter is compared to the inseparable relationship of body and soul, word and its meaning, fragrance

and flower, relish and the fruit, oil and sesamum, etc (*Tēvāram* 3:105: 1, *Tiruvācakam* 1:44, 3:116-17). He is the fire concealed in the wood; He is likewise the ghee in the milk and the brilliance in the great gem. If one churns in his consciousness with the stick of intense devotion entwined by the rope of knowledge, the immanent God becomes apparent to the devotee (*Tēvāram* 5 : 90 : 10)

The description of the immanent nature of Siva by the Tamil devotional poets, seems to be similar to that of the Upanisadic seers. A significant parallel is given below from the *Svetasvatara Upaniṣad* (1:15, 16).

"As oil in sesamum seeds, as butter in cream, as water in the dry bed of a stream, as fire in friction sticks, so is the Self (God) seized in one's own soul if one looks for Him with truthfulness and austerity". "The self which pervades all things as butter is contained in milk, which is the root of self-knowledge and austerity, that is the Brahman, the highest mystic doctrine. That is the highest mystic doctrine".

Śiva and Śakti

The static state of the Absolute is Śiva and its dynamic state is Śakti. Śiva and Śakti are like the sun and its rays. They are similar to the substance and its quality (*guṇa guṇibhava*, i.e., *Samavāya sambandha*). The two are inseparably connected like a tree and its hard core (*Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:3:67). Like fire which is red in colour and hot in quality, the One God becomes Śiva and Śakti. There is no substance without quality and no quality without substance. So also, there is no Śiva without Śakti and no Śakti without Śiva. This sort of relationship is also known as *Tatatmya* (i.e. the relationship of two things which are really two aspects of one thing).

The Lord's grace is personified as His consort Śakti (*ibid.*, 5 : 2 : 9). Śakti is the embodiment of Pure intelligence (*ibid.*, 1:3:62). Śiva's Śakti is One only, known as *Parāśakti* (the Supreme Energy). But due to the variation in the cosmic activities, it becomes many. Volitional Energy (*Icchā Śakti*) is the supreme love of the Lord concerned with the removal of the impurities (*malas*) of the souls. Through Cognitive Energy (*Ñāṉa Śakti*) the Lord knows the needs of the souls and through Conative Energy (*kriyāśakti*) He creates the universe to distribute their deserts (*ibid* 1:3:63).

The Cosmic Functions

The Lord discharges the cosmic functions through His Śakti without any exertion or effort, by His mere Will. That is why they are described in the devotional literature as His *sports* (*ibid.*, 1:2:36, *Tiruvācakam* 7:11, 12). Here, sport does not mean a pastime or an amusement. Surely, He would not derive any pleasure at the expense of the souls by subjecting them to untold miseries under cosmic functions. So, it is clear that the word *sport* indicates that He performs all the activities with effortless ease. The purpose of these functions is to bestow on the souls all the earthly and celestial happiness and finally, when the ripe time dawns, granting them the eternal bliss from which there is no return to the temporal abode of empirical life. The five cosmic functions are as follows (*Tirumantiram* 2:9:1-10, *Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:37):

Tamil	Sanskrit	English Equivalent
1. *Paṭaippu*	*Śṛṣṭi*	Creation
2. *Kāppu*	*Sthiti*	Protection
3. *Aḻippu*	*Samhāra*	Destruction
4. *Maṟaippu*	*Tirobhāva*	obscuration or concealment
5. *Arulal*	*Anugraha*	Bestowal of Grace

Let us briefly consider them one by one:

1. Creation

God creates the universe from the material cause, *Māyā* through His *Cit-Śakti* for the betterment of the souls, providing them with psycho-physical organisms, and the world for habitation. Creation is intended to enable the souls to engage in activities and to get various kinds of experiences so that the potency of the root evil, *āṇava*, would be exhausted.

2. Protection

Protection or maintenance is exercised by the Lord through His Sakti with the sole purpose of making the souls experience the yields of their *karma* accrued in various births. The Lord protects the souls in such a way that they do not miss the experience due to them, whether it is pleasurable or painful depending upon the nature of their *karma*. He protects the souls according to the Moral Law.

3. Destruction

According to the law of *karma* the souls embark in transmigration vested with various kinds of bodies in various births. In experiencing the Fruits of *karma*, their energies get tired and their physical frames become like the worn-out clothes. In order to give them rest, destruction takes place. It is often compared with sleep that recoups one's energies for the task of the following birth. God destroys only the contact of soul with matter.

4. Obscuration

The souls are eternally in conjunction with *āṇava*, the spiritual darkness which has the potency to veil the soul from having a clear knowledge of the three realities, viz., *pati*, *pasu* and *pāsa*. Only by making the obscuring power of *āṇava* to fully function, its evil could be extirpated. So, *Tirodhana Śakti* of the Lord works through *āṇava* to enchant the soul to earthly pursuits and sensual enjoyment till its power is completely emptied. At this stage, the soul develops a sense of indifference towards the yields of *karma* and also a sense of equanimity in adversity and prosperity resulting in *karma-sāmya (iruviṉai oppu)*. So, the purpose of obscuration is meant for the maturation of *aṇava mala*. As soon as the power of *āṇava* is destroyed, the soul is opened to have the vision of God.

5. Bestowal of Grace

Observing the ripening of *āṇava*

and the spiritual progress of the souls, the Lord appears in the form of *Guru* 'Preceptor', purifies them through performance of some rites known as *dīkṣā* and imparts Divine Wisdom *(Pati ñāna)* which illumines the souls to realise their oneness with the Lord. Through *Anugraha Śakti,* God bestows grace on the souls.

The first three functions are with particular reference to the physical aspect of the souls, i.e., God creates only the physical body, protects it and destroys it. But the last two actions are directly concerned with the souls. He conceals the souls from Him in order to make them mature by exterminating their impurity (i.e., *āṇava).* On the perfected souls He showers grace which is really the grant of eternal freedom. The first four actions culminate in the final one. *Anugraha* is the aim and end of all souls. All His five actions are actually the acts of His *Śakti* which is otherwise known as Grace. These five cosmic functions of God are symbolically and artistically reflected in the beautiful image of Lord Naṭarāja (Coomaraswamy 1971:66-79). Sometimes, protection and bestowal of grace are considered to be one action, while concealment and destruction are one. Thus, the Lord's functions are also known as three *(muttoḻil).* All His functions are actually the acts of grace.

The Ground of His Activities

Next, the question arises with regard to the place where God could station Himself to commence His cosmic functions. The potter places himself on earth before starting the production of a pot. Likewise, is there any ground for the Lord to inaugurate His functions? If it were essential to station Himself insome place, then that space exists before His creation work. If He would not create, there could be no place. To this circular argument, the *Āgamas* present a clear explanation through the analogy of the Time principle *(Ñāṉāmrutam* 62:4-7, *Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:37). It is the lapse of time that causes the production, maintenance and destruction of the seven worlds. But time does not require to station itself somewhere for bringing about the aforesaid changes. Like the time principle, the Lord requires no stand to place Himself, for He performs the functions through His Will, otherwise known as *Śakti.* This analogy is only partial, for *Saiva Siddhānta* considers that time is a product of impure matter *(Asuddha māyā),* and so it is inert. It could not function automatically. It is employed as an auxiliary cause for the Lord's cosmic functions.

Does God undergo any changes?

The next doubt arises whether the Lord is affected by His cosmic activities. The *Āgamas* dispel this doubt again through analogy. In the presence of sun-shine, the lotus is blooming (creation), the sun-glass emits fire (protection) and the pool water evaporates (destruction). Though the sun is held responsible for these changes, they do not effect any change in the sun. The Lord is like the sun. He is not disturbed by His functions that take place in His mere presence *(Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:33). The sun analogy gets a fresh interpretation in *Ñāṉām rutam* (63:1-4) which states that though the sun causes some lotus-buds to bloom, the other flowers like lily to fade and the old ones to wither, these

changes do not hit the sun. So also, God is untouched by any change due to His cosmic functions. He does not suffer any weariness due to His activities. If He were only immanent in the things, surely He would be affected. But, He is simultaneously transcendent and hence no change is possible. Only those who act with physical body would be affected. Since God acts through His *Śakti*, He is least affected. He is eternally immutable *(avikāri)*. Also it is to be noted that through His Will, the five modifications known as *Śiva tattvas* are emanated from the *Suddha māyā* (pure matter) and they form the ground for the Lord's cosmic activities which are actually assigned to His inseparable *sakti*.

Two more analogies are given in *Civañāṉa Cittiyār* (1:2:31). Though the different states of wakefulness, dreaming, dreamless sleep etc., arise and merge in the soul, they do not affect the soul. Though the words and their sense as understood in the books subside in and re-emerge from the soul's consciousness, they do not affect the soul. So also, though the worlds are evolved and resolved in Him, He is not affected by them. He stands with the world being united and at the same time not united. One more analogy is worth mentioning. The three realities viz., *pati*, *pasu* and *pāsa* are respectively compared to ether, sea and salt. God is like the ether that provides space for the waters of the sea which are compared to the souls. The triple bonds *(pāsa)* that go with the souls and not with God are like the salt that clings to the water and not the space occupied by the sea. Thus, God remains unaffected though He is inseparable from the souls and matter *(Civananapotam* 7:3:44, *Civañāṉacittiyar* 7:3).

In *Civanerippirakācam* some more illustrations are found. Though the air that does not leave the ether mingles with the fragrance, heat and cold and moves in the ether, it does not affect the ether. The snake is not afflicted by the poison, though it possesses it. Though asafoetida kills any tree that comes into its contact, it will not kill the tree on which it grows (Devasenapathi 1963:23-4). These comparisons are sufficient to maintain that God is not at all affected by the triple bonds and He is eternally independent.

Next, let us proceed to deal with the relationship of God with the souls as found in the *Saiva Siddhānta*.

God's relationship with the souls

Tēvāram (1:11:2) and *Meykaṇṭa-śāstras* denote three kinds of relationship of the Lord with the souls *(Civañāṉapotam* 2:1, *Civañāṉacittiyār* 2:1, *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppatiyār* 86). Accordingly, He is one with them *(oṉṟāy)*, different from them *(vēṟāy)* and along with them *(uṭaṉāy)*. These are illustrated through some analogies.

1. The soul and the body

The Lord becomes one with the souls in actuating them to undergo the five-fold functions. To illustrate this sort of relationship the usual simile is that of the soul and body. Like the soul that animates the body, the Lord animates the soul. Though the soul and the body are one due to their combination, they are different in substance. So also the Lord and the soul are one due

to their intimacy, but they are different categories. This sort of oneness is known as *Advaita* or *Ananya* (non-difference). The intimate and inseparable contact of two things which makes them appear to be one is recognised as *Advaita* (or *abhēda*) in *Saiva Siddhānta*. *Advaita* does not mean that God and soul are one as held in *Vedanta* philosophy of *Saṁkara*.

2. The sunlight and the eye-sight

Though the soul and the Lord are inseparably connected, they are not of the same content. Their difference is just like the sunlight and the eye-sight. The eye cannot perceive things in its own right. It requires the help of an external power, viz., the sunlight. The souls are like the eyes, while the Lord is like the sun. This analogy proclaims the concept of *bheda*.

3. The finite-consciousness and the eye-sight

The third comparison to explain the Lord's relationship with the souls is that of the finite consciousness and the eye-sight. In the former illustration, the eye-sight requires external light for its perception. Here, it is in need of inner-light known as *ātman's cit-śakti* (i.e. the soul's finite consciousness). It is purely internal and pervades the eye-sight in illuminating the objects. Like the soul's consciousness to the eye, the Lord's consciousness-force stands to the soul. He is the life of the souls. Here, in this relation, He is one with the soul and at the same time different from it. Hence, this relationship is known as *bhēdābhēda*.

Thus, *Saiva Siddhānta* propounds three kinds of relationship of God with soul, viz., 1.*abhēda* like body and soul, 2.*bhēda* like the sunlight and eye-sight, and 3. *bhēdābhēda* like the finite-consciousness and eye-sight. But other theistic schools prefer only one among the three and adduce different illustrations to maintain their view-points. The *Kevalādvaita* of *Śaṁkara* interprets the word *advaita* to mean one reality, and that is why it is known as monism. This school treats God and soul as the different modes of the same stuff like the gold and its ornament. The *Dvaita* of *Madhva* advocates dualism considering that the word '*advaita*' means more than one reality. According to this school, God and soul are completely different categories like light and darkness. The *Pāñcarātras*, a sect of *Vaiṣṇavism* propounds the concept of *bhēdābhēda* taking the two like word and its sense. All these ideas are presented here according to the commentary of *Civañāṉapōtam*. It seems that *Śaiva Siddhānta* did not agree with these views. Its concept of *advaita* is known as *Suddhādvaita*, i.e. pure *advaita* as explained through the three analogies cited earlier.

The relationship of God and soul is further explained in *Saiva Siddhānta* through a fresh analogy derived from the alphabetical system.[18] 'A' is the first vowel sound in the alphabetical series. It is an independent sound, pronounced by the mere opening of mouth. Since all sounds -- let them be vowels (*uyir*, also means soul) or consonants (*mey* also means body) -- are to be pronounced only after mouth-opening, the influence of 'A' is naturally mingled in them. Its influence is implicitly found in the vowel series, whereas

the consonants require the help of 'A' for their pronunciation. This is the position in the Indian languages. The *Saiva Siddhānta* develops an analogy from this source to elucidate the relationship of God with the souls and matter. God is like 'A'. He is the Primary Being. Souls are like the vowels, and the matter like the consonants. He prevades not only the souls *(uyir)* but also the matter *(mey)*. If there is no 'A' there are no vowels and consonants. Likewise, if there is no God, there are no souls and matter. This *Siddhāntic* concept has its root in the very first couplet of *Tirukkural* which illumines that like the alphabets having 'A' as their primary sound, so also the world has the Lord, *Ātipakavan*, to be its Prime Head.

The Forms of God

The *svarūpa* state of the Lord denotes that He is the Absolute of philosophy, while His *Tatastha* state indicates that He is the God of theism. It is natural to anticipate that the Lord who actuates the cosmic functions should possess some form. Some would think that if He had a form, He should be treated one among the people. Others would argue that if He had no form, the cosmic functions could not be carried out. In reply, *Śaiva Siddhānta* expatiates that the Lord can function even without form just like the soul that has no form, but animates the body. The Lord manifests Himself in some form not because He cannot function without form, but because the souls would be benefited by His form. The Lord condescending from His Absolute nature comes to the reach of the souls. This simplicity of the Highest Being is known as *elivarutal* in *Tiruvācakam* and *Saulabhya* in *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. "The devotee feels that God is closer to us than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet".

He reveals Himself in various manifestations to His devotees under different situations. He even takes the form of a mother-pig at His own Will to feed her young-ones when they lose their mother. Nevertheless, the concept of incarnation *(avatāra)*, one of the central tenets in *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is not admissible in *Saiva Siddhānta*. An erudite scholar in the system of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* observes:

"The vast *purānic* literature is said to be sinqularly free from any account of Siva's birth in flesh and blood. It is contended that the author of evolution cannot Himself be subject to that process" *(Ramanujachari* 1948:13).

It is said that the Lord appears and disappears at His own Will. His forms are radically different from those of the mortals whose forms are the products of matter *(māyā)*. Since the souls are fettered by *anava* type of *pasa*, they get their bodies from the *maya* type of *pāśa*. Since the Lord by nature is free from the three types of *pāśa* (viz., *ānava*, *karma* and *māyā)*, His form has no connection with *māyā*, His own *śakti* manifests His form. All His forms are the forms of *Śakti*, which is grace, intelligence and brilliance all at once. Tirumūlar declares that love is God (*Tirumantiram* 1:18:1).

All the objects have one of the three forms, viz., corporeal form *(rūpā)*, incorporeal form *(arūpa)* and corporeal-cum-incorporeal form *(rūpārūpa)*. *Arūpa* is not subject to sense-perception like the ether.

It could be knowable through inference. *Rūpa* form is perceptible like earth. *Rūpārūpa* form is sometimes perceived and at other times inferred like the air and vapour. Likewise, the Lord's forms are also held to be threefold (*Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:38,55). There are nine variations in the manifestation of Śiva, due to the variation in the substrates where he stays for performing the cosmic functions. They are collectively known as '*navam taru pētam*' in *Civañāṉacittiyār*. They are classified into three groups: *Śiva*, *Śakti*, *Nāda* and *Bindu* constitute the *arūpa* forms. Sadāśiva is the *rūpārūpa* form and it is represented in the form of Śivalinga. Maheśvara, Rudra, Visnu and Brahma are the fully manifested forms (*rūpa*). From Śiva, *Śakti* arises; from *Śakti*, *Nāda* arises; from *Nāda*, *Bindu* arises and so on. Among these nine, *Śakti* and *Bindu* are the variations of *Śakti tattva*. Corresponding to the variations in the form of Śiva, the manifestations of *Śakti* also vary. Thus, Śiva and Śakti, Nāda and Bindu, Sadāśiva and Manonmaṇi, Maheśvara and Maheśvari, Rudra and Umā, Vishnu and Mahālaksmī and Brahma and Sarasvatī form the Divine couples to initiate the cosmic activities.

It is to be borne in mind that Rudra, Visnu and Brahma under reference belong to *Sampupakṣa* (i.e. the variations of Śiva) while the *Trimūrtis* belong to *Anupakṣa* (i.e. the group of spiritually evolved souls). This sort of classification is also found in the *Tirumuṟais*.

Threefold Mūrtas

All the corporeal forms that the Lord has assumed for the deliverance of the souls are classified into three kinds, viz., *Bhoda*, *Vega* and *Yoga* (*ibid.*, 1:2:50). *Bhoga* means enjoyment. In this manifestation, the Lord with His consort, *Śakti*, is known as the Divine Father and Mother (*Ammai Appar*). *Umāmaheśvara mūrta* belongs to this kind. This form is symbolic of enjoyment, conferring on the souls the earthly pleasures. The Lord Himself sets an example to all species of living beings to live in conjugal life. Saint Tirunāvakkaracar had the vision of God in the pairs of birds and animals when he was exposed to the sacred shrine at Tiruvaiyāṟu (*Tēvāram* 4:21:31). The significance of this *mūrta* is also pointed out by Tiruñāṉacampantar and Māṇikkavācakar (*ibid* 3:24:1, *Tiruvācakam* 12:9). *Vega* means anger. *Vega Mūrta* is symbolic of His righteous anger to correct the vicious and wicked people. Among his many heroic deeds, eight are important. They are portrayed in *Tirumantiram* (2:2:1-8). They include the burning of the triple flying fortress of the *Asuras*, the kicking to death of Yama, the killing of Jalandhara, the subjugation of Rāvaṇa, etc. *Yoga* means meditation. The Lord takes *yoga murta* also He becomes an ascetic of a very high order. He also becomes an ideal preceptor to instruct the matured souls to attain salvation. The best example of this *mūrta* is the form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti which is referred to in *Kalittokai* and *Cilappatikāram*. In this form, He revealed the *Vedas* and *Āgamas*.

Though the Lord assumes these manifestations, He transcends the universe. Even the *puranic* story that narrates the arduous but vain attempts of Brahma and Visnu (*Aṇupakṣa*) in search of His origin and end (literally His head and feet) indicates

that He alone is the only transcendental Supreme Being.

Astamurta

The Lord's eight-fold form (*astamurta*) is a recurrent theme in the *Tirumurais*. It includes the five gross-elements, the sun and moon besides the manifold souls. The first seven are material products in which the Lord abides as the inner principle. He is also the inner ruler of the souls. Through this form, His omnipresence is symbolically conveyed. The concept of *astamurta* is very ancient (Kandaswamy 1972: 34-5). It is noticed in the religion of the Indus Valley Civilization. *Paripātal* and *Maṇimēkalai* are the early extant Tamil literature to refer to this form. Kāḷidāsa also extols this form of Śiva.

Adhvāmūrti

The concept of God as *adhvamurti* is also worth mentioning (*Civañāṉacittiyār* 1:2:56-9, *Kantarkaliveṉpā* 60-2). *Adhva* literally means pathway or steps leading one to progress. The *Āgamas* mention six *adhvas*, viz., *mantra, pāda, varṇa, bhuvana, tattva* and *kāla* to be His manifestation. Thus he is known as *adhvamūrti*. Since He pervades all these six material products, they are figuratively attributed to be His form. Among the six *adhavas*, *mantra adhva* is His special form. So, He is also known as *Mantramūrti*. *Mantras* are the modifications of the pure matter (*suddhamāyā*). They are meant for the contemplation of the devotees to secure happiness and release. Even among the *mantras*, the five constitute His significant form, since they are the primary ones emanating before all other *mantras* from *Suddhamāyā*. So, He is also known as Panca Brahma *m a mantra mūrti*. This form is hinted in *Maṇimēkalai* 27:91) also.

Realisation of God

The *Meykaṇṭa Śāstra* (*Civaprakāsam* pp.39-42) mentions two kinds of knowledge to be the means of realising God. They are the knowledge of the Divine Grace and the knowledge of the *Āgamas*. The first one is to be directly derived from God. He chooses the ripe soul to impart divine knowledge known as *Patiñāṉa* or *Sivañāṉa*. This is also known as *Tiruvarauḷñanam* as per the commentary of *Civappirakācam* which clearly mentions that the *Tēvāram* Trio, Karaikkalammai and others received this kind of divine knowledge. *Āgamañana* is to be obtained as a result of a close study of the *Saiva Āgamas*. However, this is only indirect knowledge of God. The *Santānakuṟavars* are the receipients of this kind of *ñāṉa*.

The limitations of bookish knowledge are clearly pointed out in the Tamil devotional literature. The knowledge of the texts is of little use to the realisation of the Absolute. It is just like seeing a city in a map. *Tiruvācākam* declares that the bookish knowledge does not make one to apprehend the Reality. He is far away from the sixfold sources of knowledge (i.e. *pramāṇas*) which are like boats to cross the ocean of *Vedas* and *Āgamas* (*Ñāṉāmrutam* 55:24-7). He could not be adequately understood through the principles of epistemology. Intense devotion towards God is a preliminary requisite to realise Him. It is followed by the prescribed ethical preparations. The devotional hymnists have realised

Him through devotion and meditation leading to Divine Grace. Because of their spiritual perfection, a thorough transformation took over their body which also attained divinity. It is said that God spoke through them. Their words are the true expression of their divine experience. They are held to be the trustworthy words being the only *pramāṇa* for the existence of God.

Tiruñānacampantar advises the people not to investigate God through logical means, since He is Self-Effulgent (*Tēvāram* 3:54:5). Tirunāvukkaracar declares: "How could I deny the existence of God who has thrust Himself into the circle of my consciousness" (*ibid.*, 4:98:1). *Tirumuṟais* and the life of the Nāyaṉmārs reveal that sincere service to God and society is the pathyway to reach Him. *Meykantaśāstras* mention that knowledge obtained through *pramāṇas* is only *pasañana* (i.e. material knowledge). It is only through *Patiñāṇa* that realisation of God is made possible. Māṇikkavācakar proclaims that he saw God with his own eyes (perhaps after being possessed by Him) (*Tiruvācakam* 3:58). He mentions in many contexts that he received *Patiñāṇa* directly from the Lord.[19] He indicates also the manner by which he was initiated with the divine wisdom by the Lord Himself in the form of a *Guru*. He says that there is a way of seeing the reality. It is known as *kāṇumāṟu kāṇal*, i.e. seeing in such a way as to grasp the Reality. This way is clearly elaborated in the 11th aphorism of *Civañāṇapōtam* and its commentaries (*Civañāṇapōtam ciṟṟurai* pp.142-54; *Civañāṇacittiyār* 11:1-6).

Without the guidance of the soul, the eye could not see an object. The eye serves only as instrument. It cannot see itself. It is inert and a product of matter. If it could see all by itself without the guidance of the soul, the eye in the dead body also should see. It is not so. It is actually the consciousness-force (*ātman's cit-śakti*) that is inherent with the soul pervades the eye to cognize a thing. Though it is commonly said that the eye sees, actually it is the soul that sees through the eye. The eye is the window of the soul. Thus, the soul helps the eye in two ways, viz., showing and seeing an object (*kāttum upakāram* and *kāṇum upakāram*). God is to the soul what the soul is to the eye. Lord's grace known as *sakti* pervades the soul, illumines it and reveals the Lord who is the life of the soul. In one of the hymns of *Tevaram*, Divine Grace is extolled to be the eye of the soul (*avaṉarulēkan*) (*Tēvāram* 6:97:10). The luminosity of soul's consciousness-force becomes explicit due to the on-set of Divine Grace. The Lord creates an unquenchable desire (*sivarāga* or *śivakāma*) in such souls to experience Him, and through this desire manifests Sivananda, the eternal bliss.

Conclusion

Saiva Siddhānta is a theistic philosophy based on revelation. It has a long history and rich literature. Though the *Meykantaśāstras* employs logical means to establish the existence of God, the devotional hymns of the Nāyaṉmārs are the authentic source to understand His existence and nature. His intrinsic as well as related characteristics, transcendence and immanence, static and dynamic features, His cosmic functions etc., are delineated in the Tamil devotional hymns and *Meykaṇṭaśāstras*. Through intense devotion and meditation, one could get Divine Grace which alone could unfold the mystery of God.

NOTES

1. "That which stands many tests and is finally established is known as *Siddhānta*". (Arunachalam 1968:91). "*Siddhānta* means proved doctrine... According to Uddyotakara, *Siddhānta* means the knowledge in the specific form of 'ascertaining the true implication of a system' *(śāstrārtha-niścaya)*. (Chattopadhyaya 1967:18). Though *Siddhānta* is a common name denoting any system of philosophy, it is generally used to denote the *Śaiva Siddhānta* only (*Tirumantiram*, 8:15:1,17,25).

2. "Dr.Pope, who gave much thought to this system, regards it as 'the most elaborate, influential, and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India'... The earliest Tamil works, like *Tolkāppiyam* refers to *Arivars* 'the seers'who chalked out the path to freedom and bliss... The twentyeight *Śaiva Āgamas*, especially the parts dealing with *ñāṉa* or knowledge, the hymns of the Śaiva saints, and the works of the later theologians form the chief sources of Southern Saivism" (Radhakrishnan, 1971:772-3).

3. The Karnataka state is the centre of Vīra Śaivam, a cult especially based on *Vīra Āgama*, one of the nine *Āgamas* mentioned in *Tirumantiram*. Campantar also mentions that the *Vedas*, *Aṅgas* and *Āgamas* are compiled by Śiva Himself (*Tēvāram*, 3:23:6). Further, he differentiates between *Āgamas* and *Mantras* which denote the *Vedas*. (*Tēvāram* 3:39:2).

4. The *Āgamic* concepts such as *mummalam, iruviṉai oppu* etc., are also found in *Tiruvācakam* (2.111-3, 19.7, 30.7, 43.2, 51.9, 30.1). Reference to the five-fold *malas* is also found *(ibid.,* 6.29).

5. The second hymn of *Tiruvacakam* (i.e. *kirtti Tiruakaval)* lists the sacred places of Śiva. Among them, Mount Mahendra tops the list. The Lord is known as *Makēntira veṟpan* (2.100-101), and *Cōti Makēntiranātan* (43.9). Professor Paul Wheatley (1980:1-2) has identified this mountain in South East Asia. But the traditonal scholars on the authority of *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki and of Kampaṉ and also *Sivadharmottra* considered that the said Mount existed somewhere in the south of Potiyil Hills *(Parati* 1954:74). According to Maṟaimalai Atikaḷ (1948:79) the Mount Mahendra is found somewhere in the Andhra Pradesh.

6. *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppatiyār* (5), *Civañāṉa cittiyār* (1.2.46; 8.2.13, etc). According to Civañāṉa muṉivar, *Civañāṉapōtam* is a translation of *ñāṉapāda* of *Raurava Āgama*. But, modern scholars differ from him and suggest that it should be an original work in Tamil.

7. *Tirumantiram* (8.15.28). There is a Tamil verse of unknown authorship stating the close relationship of the various scriptures. The substance is this: "The *Veda* is the cow and the *Āgamas* are its milk; the *Tēvāram* and *Tiruvācakam* is the extracted ghee and *Civañāṉapōtam* of Meykantar is the relish of that ghee". Tiruñāṉacampantar also praises the Lord

as vētavētāntan, i.e. the essence of *Vedas* and *Upaniṣads*. (*Tēvāram*, 3.35.4).

8. *Pinkala nikantu* Madras, 1890), p.236.

9. See *Akanāṉūru* (181) *Puṟanāṉūṟu* (6.17-18, 55.1-6, 56.1-2, 11, 91.5-6, 166.1-4) and *Maturaikkāñci* (453-455).

10. This treatise has been critically edited along with the old commentary and with valuable comments by the *Siddhānta* scholar, Avvai S. Duraisamy Pillai and published by the Annamalai University in 1954.

11. Among his eight works, Unmaineṟivilakkam is ascribed by Professor Anavaradavinayagam Pillai to Tattuvanātar of Cīrkāḻi.

12. See *There can be only one final conclusion*, (Hawaii, Kauai Aadheenam, The Saiva Siddhanta Church, 1983), pp.11-12 , and *Monism and Pluralism in Śaiva Siddhānta (ibid.*, 1984), pp.16-20.

13. *Ñāṉāmrutam* 58:8-17. It seems that the author refutes the view of the Sāṁkhyas. *vide.*, John Davies (1957:48,66).

14. See *Tāyumāṉavar Tiruppāṭal Tiraṭṭu, eṅkum niṟaikiṉṟaporuḷ*, 1.

15. *Kenopaniṣad*, 3.1-12, 4.1-3. Radhakrishnan translation. In this Upanisad, the supremacy of Lord Siva over the Vedic gods is established beyond doubt.

16. Rev.G.U.Pope in his translation of *Tirukkuṟal* (vide, *The Sacred Kuṟal*, New Delhi, 1980), pp.188, mentioned that every Hindu enumeration omitted justice as one of the attributes of God. But, it is a wrong observation, for God is praised as justice in many hymns of Tirumuṟai. e.g. *Tēvāram*, 2.28.2; 5.33.4, 94. 6; 6.99.5, 8; *Tiruvācakam* 29.1.

17. *Tirukkuṟal* with *Tantapāṇi Pillai's commentary*. (Madras. 1956), pp.1-8. *eṅkunattaṉ* being an epithet to Lord Śiva occurs in *Tēvāram* (5:89:8, 6:16:4, 6:98:10, 7:40:3).

18. See *Unmaiviḷakkam* 29, *Civañāṉapōtam* 2:1:7, *Civañāṉacittiyār* 2:1:1, *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ* 1 : 1 ; This analogy has already gained currency in the *Tirumuṟais*. See *Tirumantiram* 7:5:1, *Tēvāram* 1 : 88 : 5 , 6:28:5, 7:3:7, See also the *Bhagavad Gītā* 10:33.

19. See *Tiruvācakam* 1:32, 2:102, 3:117-24, 5:43, 44, 84-5, 95, 8.12, 18, 10.4, 30:1-7, 31:1-10, etc.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 'Mrs. WARREN'S PROFESSION' AND 'NEÑCIL ORU MUḶ'

M.Thayyal Nayaki

Mu.Varadarajan's (Mu.Va.) literary indebtedness to Western writers such as Somerset Maugham, Dickens, Thackeray, Bertrand Russell, H.G. Wells and Bernard Shaw is quite evident in his writings. Mu.Va. is an ardent admirer of Shaw's concept of education, society, politics, religion and economics. When one comes to know about Mu.Va.'s awareness of Shaw's views through Mu.Va.'s *Ariñar Pernārt Sā,* his fictional and *non-fictional writings, one can ascertain* Shavian influence on Mu.Va. who admits the reason behind his admiration for Shaw, i.e., "Shaw's ability to fathom the root cause of any *problem in life*" (Mu.Va.1976 Preface).

There are similarities between *Mrs.Warren's Profession* and Mu.Va.'s *Neñcil Oru Mul* in terms of plot construction, characterisation, theme, etc. The object of this essay is to make a comparative study of these two works focussing mainly on the idea of seduction and compunction.

The plot of *Mrs.Warren's Profession* is a series of "discoveries", and revelations of the past, which decide the future of the leading characters like Vivie Warren, Mrs. Warren and Frank Gardner.

Structurally, the plot is built around the two scenes of tug-of-war between Mrs.Warren and her daughter. Mrs.Warren wins the first round by convincing Vivie that her recourse to prostitution is due to social injustice, but in the second, she utterly fails due to Vivie's discovery that she is still going ahead with her nefarious traffic long after the economic excuse for it had disappeared. Her tragedy lies in her rejection by her own offspring. In *Neñcil Oru Muḷ,* the plot proper begins with the wedding of Vatịvu and Akōr, the most incompatible pair. Vaṭivu's accidental encounter with her selfish, greedy lover Palarāmaṉ turns the course of the plot. With the loss of chastity, she gains good character. Vaṭivu, a conscientious moralist, is transformed into a tolerant, home-loving, compromising house-wife. She converts her drunkard husband to be a faithful husband and a loving father. But the 'incident' pricks her conscience throughout, as the title of the novel rightly suggests, resulting in preventing her beloved son Kaṉṉaḷakaṉ's marriage with his sweet heart Aṉparaci.

In *Mrs.Warren's Profession* and *Neñcil Oru Muḷ,* the heroines Mrs.-Warren and Vativu, are the pivot of action. Both are in the same

predicament of having gone astray and having to face the question of legitimacy of the child. Mu.Va. differs from Bernard Shaw where the novelist presents his heroine suffering more and more due to the mental agony caused by the unexpected mishap. But the dramatist Shaw's heroine Mrs.Warren never suffers from any sense of guilt or shame.

She feels so much at home with her profession that she cannot help having recourse to it. Both in Shaw and Mu.Va., there is a conflict. In Mu.Va. the conflict is internal, whereas in Shaw it is external. No one reminds Vativu of her seduction; still she subjects herself to endless emotional tortures. In Mrs.Warren's case, her daughter illtreats her often and ultimately rejects her. *Mrs.Warren's Profession* is a tragedy with the daughter disowning the mother. But *Neñcil Oru Muḷ* ends happily with Vaṭivu peacefully settling down to serve the downtrodden, and Kaṉṉalakaṉ on her instruction, consenting to give up his past affairs and live quietly.

Mrs.Warren's Profession has no sub-plot; the story is centred around Mrs.Warren. *Neñcil Oru Muḷ* has a sub-plot, i.e., the storyof Vijaya's family which has of course thematic as well as structural relevance. Structurally speaking, Vativu is closely associated with Vijayā's family and the novelist keeps Vativu in touch with Vijayā till her end, for maintaining the structural and thematic unity of the novel. The lives of Vijaya, Kintirā and Kītā are set against the life of Vaṭivu. Mu.Va. narrates a short tale through Aravāḷi towards the end to illustrate the theme of moral guilt; but Shaw needs no support. There is no digression in the plot. He goes to the question straight, deals with it effectively and boldly and ends the play immediately when justice is done to the issue of prostitution.

An outstanding characteristic of Shaw as a dramatist is, as Desmond Mac Carthy said, "the exceptional variety and vividness of his characters" (Pourdom 1966:120). Shaw had the energy and insight to probe deep into the psyche of people, to grasp their view-point and to objectify them in the expression of their personalities, and that explains the reason for the wide range of his characters. As Coleridge has said of Shakespeare, Shaw drew his characters from observation but they are the outcome of his 'meditation'. The canvas of Mu.Va.'s novels is filled with a large variety of characters. But very often in the case of Mu.Va. certain characters are repeated in the name of some other characters.

In *Mrs.Warren's Profession* the playwright for the first time shows mastery of his material and his technique. In general, Shaw sacrifices characterisation to theme and purpose; this results in the production of types, save a very few individual characters like Mrs.Warren.

In *Neñcil Oru Mul*, all characters save Vaṭivu are types. Since Shaw and Mu.Va. are writers of ideas, they develop their themes at the cost of characterisation and plot construction. According to A.W. England, Shaw's plays are just the dialectical presentation of ideas:

> Of course, it is not a play, nor anything approaching to one; it is a discussion, a debate, a dialogue,

> a conference, a sermon -- anything and everything that is long-winded and solemn (England 1968:33).

Gurunathan and Valavan express the same view about Mu.Va.:

> In Doctor Mu.Va.'s novels, there are a few incidents but many ideas. His ideas are the foundation of his novels which are based on the structure of the family in the present society and on the problems, struggles and disagreements in family life (Gurunathan & Valavan 1977:18).

Other critics and writers like Rev. Xavier S. Thaninayakam (1963), K.Kailasapthy (1968) and R.Mohan (1972 & 1975) have rightly observed that the ideas in Mu.Va.'s fiction dominate action. Both Shaw and Mu.Va. are not artists for art's sake but artists for life's sake.

Among the characters of these works of art, Vivie Warren, Vaṭivu, Kintirā and Cantirā are "New Women" or represent what is called in Tamil *Putumaippeṇ*

The originator of Shaw's New Woman is Ibsen and Mu.Va,'s *Putumaippeṇ* generates from Bhārati. Shaw's New Woman is expected to be "independent in spirit, self - confident, clear-headed, morally courageous and emotionally well controlled" (Ward 1963:93). Mu.Va.'s New Woman cannot be said to be totally devoid of romantic and sentimental attitudes, as Mu.Va.'s concept of woman varies from that of Shaw. Mu.Va.'s irritation with the timid, shy house-wife of 19th and early 20th centuries provoked him to create his New Woman with independent spirit and capacity for action.

Vivie Warren is the earnest and scornful young student who has no patience to read and enjoy fiction and to tolerate the blind beliefs and conventions of the older generation. Vivie has a well planned life; she has no inhibitions but only objectives. She herself pictures her as a New Woman:

> I (Vivie Warren) think I'am less (prejudiced or strait-laced).
> I'am certain I'am less sentimental.... to Shaw off a shop windowful of diamonds (Shaw 1934:91).

Vativu like Vivie is not only educated but also has the boldness to take up a job. She is self-confident, clear-headed and morally courageous. But she is not as brave as Vivie is, because she finds it difficult to ignore her affair with Palaramaṉ whereas Vivie forgets her lover Frank Gardner when she knows that he can be her step-brother. Later, Vivie does not care to worry about it; she does not bother about her quarrels with her mother also; she is, as she says, not only less sentimental and even anti-sentimental. But Vativu's sentimentality is exposed in more than one occasion like her thinking about her lover before her marriage and her feeling sad both for her own 'fall' and her son's miserable plight due to her misconduct. Though Vativu, Kintirā and Cantirā cannot come up to the expectation of Shaw, they are New Women in the sense they are not like the timid, docile, shy housewives of Tamil Nadu. Kintirā and Cantirā are brought up by their mother Vijayā who herself is more revolutionary in marrying Corup, with Kintirā born to somebody else and in giving absolute freedom to her children both in daily life and marital matters. Kintirā is 'modern'

in the derogatory sense of the term. She has moral courage but she misuses it by making friends with many young-men. But Cantirā comes closer to Bhārati's *Putumaip peṉ*. by her independent spirit, clear thinking, simple living, self- confidence and boldness to shun slavish, traditional beliefs. Arguing that way, Cantirā's friend Pārvati also can be called New Woman in her simple living and high thinking. Both Shaw and Mu.Va. create these New Woman to set models to their contemporary young men who were then mainly governed by the old school of thought.

Coming to other minor characters, critics of Shaw relate Praed, Mrs. Warren's aesthetic friend, to Shaw's other characters like Cokane and Cuthbertson, but he is more refined and individualised. Homer E.Woodbridge says that Sir George Crofts and Reverend Samuel Gardner are "Well drawn types" (Woodbridge 1963:28). Crofts is the sporting cityman and Gardner is the blustering and hypocritical rector who can be contrasted with Aṟavāḻi in *Neñcil Oru Muḷ* who is not a priest by profession but is more pious, more religious and more virtuous than the professionalists themselves. Frank Gardner is a mixture of sophistication, wit and charm. The reason behind Shaw's creation of an unfaithful rector is that Shaw did not like the Church and its 'irreligious' practices; he did not relish Christian beliefs and the ceremonies attached to them; Shaw attacks Church and its activities:

> They (the Church) are all snares of the devil. They stand between Man and his Maker, and take on themselves divine powers when they lack divine attributes *(In Good King Charles's Golden Days)*.

In the *Free Thinker* Shaw expresses his hatred of "the mass of mean superstition and misunderstood prophecies" (Whitehead 1925:12). This unconventional religious mind could not like hypocrites like Rev.Gardner and so he scorns them. Mu.Va.'s idea of religion is also unconventional; Mu.Va. follows the religious creed of Rāmaliṅkar, Tāyumāṉavar, Gandhiji and Thiru.Vi.Ka. In one of his letters Mu.Va. says that according to Gandhian religion, which he also followed, "we should protect us from sinful words and deeds" (Viswanathan 1976:50) "the only way to see God is to see Him in His creation. To serve all people is the way to reach God" (Mu.Va.1967:33-4). This is what one sees Aṟavāḻi doing in *Neñcil Oru Muḷ*; Aṟavāḻi is Mu.Va.'s mouth-piece.

Among the characters - most of them are types, whether they are New Women or priests. They stand for particular traits. Mrs.Warren and Vativu alone are round characters. Vativu, though a New Woman, is not only a New Woman but also a faithful wife, a loving mother, and a service minded woman. Mrs. Warren reveals her many-sidedness throughout the play as a responsible mother, as a downtrodden woman, as a manager of the 'hotels' and so on. Both the heroines--Mrs.Warren and Vativu--are morally guilty. Vativu repents for her guilt; but Mrs.Warren happily continues to be guilty.

Another comparable element in these two works is the question of the legitimacy of the child. In Shaw, only Mrs.Warren is not able to disclose the secret of Vivie's parentage, whereas in Mu.Va.,Vativu, Vijayā, Kintirā and Kītā face the same question. Both Mrs.Warren

and Vativu could not help their children to get married. Vivie and Kannalakan uniformly fall in love with persons who are suspected to be their step - brother or step - sister. Towards the close, *Nencil Oru Mul*, and *Mrs.Warren's Profession* end *without* identifying Frank Gardner and Anparaci, their partners. Till the end of the works, it is not made clear that Vivie and Frank were born to the same father, and Kannalakan and Anparaci were born to the same father. Anyway these two marriages are finally stopped but in the case of Vivie, she does not care about the failure, she being an antisentimental young woman; on the otherhand, Kannalakan feels acutely but gets reconciled to it by Aravali's meaningful advice and explanation. In the relationship between parents and children, Vivie disowns her mother and decides to live alone, whereas Kannalakan stays with his mother, forgetting his past interests. The reason is Mrs.Warren does not like to give up her immoral profession but Vativu is not repeating it.

Though Mrs.Warren and Vativu have gone astray, whether deliberately or accidently, Shaw and Mu.Va.tax society rather than the individual for the existence of such women in the country. In his preface to *Mrs.Warren's Profession*, Shaw sneers at the law-givers for punishing the prostitutes:

> The notion that Mrs.Warren must be a fiend is only an example of the violence and passion which the slightest reference to sex rouses in undisciplined minds, and which makes it seem natural to our law-givers to punish silly and negligible indecencies with a ferocity unknown to dealing with, for example ruinous financial swindling (Shaw 1965:230).

Mu.Va. stigmatizes society for individual's guilt in works like *Malar Vili*. Mu.Va. is here influenced not only by Shaw's idea of a fallen woman but also by Gandhiji and Thiru.Vi.Ka. who called such women "fallen sisters".

To conclude, it is not advisable to deny Shaw's impact on Mu.Va. But in writing the story of *Nencil Oru Mul*, it is very difficult to say whether Mu.Va. borrowed the plot from *Mrs.Warren's Profession*. Mu.Va.'s reading of Shavian drama could have given him the inspiration to write a story like *Nencil Oru Mul*. In other aspects such as political, social, moral and educational, Shavian influence is conspicuous.

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EPIGRAPHICAL GLEANINGS ON TAMIL ARTISTS

K.Sridaran

Sthapatis played a vital role in the history of Indian cultural heritage. Architectural and sculptural treatises name Mahāmayan̲, the Pañcamukha-Brahma, as the creator of five *karmas* and *karma-puruṣas*. They are Manu, Maya, Dvaṣṭa Śilpi and Īśvagña. Manu is reponsible for iron work, Mayā for wood carvings, Dvaṣṭa for science, Śilpi for temple construction, and Īśvagña for goldsmithy. *Sthapatis* were masters of *vāstu* and *śilpa*. The present article attempts a brief outline of the details pertaining to creative artists of the past from the epigraphical sources.

The *Avantisundarikātha* and the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, early Sanskrit texts of Daṇdi, narrate the interesting story of a Pallava *sthapati* called Lalithālayan̲. He was the son of Manthatha, a great artist. As an expert of *vāstuśāstra*, he had the extraordinary skill of erecting 96 types of *prāsādas* 'temples'. The same text points out that Lalithalayan recarved the broken hand of Jalasayana Perumāḻ of Māmallapuram. (Nagasamy 1968:36-7).

The monolithic temples of Mamallapuram are living examples of Pallava sculptural mastery over design and execution. Some of the sculpturs' names are engraved in a rock at the Mamallapuram town. In the Pallava *grantha* script of the 7th century A.D., the epigraph records the names of Kevatha *Peruntaccan̲*, Sadamukyan̲, Guṇamallan̲, Kaliyāni, Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Apajan̲ and Kollan̲-sēmān̲. In those days it was customary to call the stone artists as *peruntaccan̲*. In all probability the names listed above refer to the artists of Mamallapuram (Nagasamy 1973:246).

An inscription of the Sundara Varada Perumāl temple of Uttiramērūr extolls the artist as a mastercraftsman, the supreme knower of *vāstu-vidyā* 'building art', who grasps the measurements and embellishments that conform to architectural specifications. The inscription avers that the shrine, a veritable Surya among *vāstus*, was built in accordance with *āgamas* by the learned artist, Parameśvara-*peruntaccan̲* (Nagasamy 1973:243).

After the defeat of Nandivarman̲ Pallava, the Chāḻukya king, Vikramāditya, conquered Kāñchi. He was amazed by the elegance of the Kailāsanātha temple. So he took the artists of Kāñchi to his land. The Tamil *sthapatis* under the patronage of the Chālukya king constructed the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭtadakkal. The Chālukya epigraphs appraise the extraordinary skill of the Pallava *śilpis*.

In the period of Cōḻas, many brick temples were converted into granite edifices called *karrali*. This proves the existence of a number of artists during the Cola period. The Anbil Plates of Sundara Cōḻa aver that the Cōḻa King, Āditya I, erected a number of Śiva temples on the banks of the river Kāvēri, from Sahyadri to Puhār (Balasubramaniyan 1966a:81). The temple of Tirunallam or Kōnērirājapuram, was built by Sembiyaṉ Mahādevī in honour and memory of her husband. The name and figure of the sculptor who made a stone temple, *karrali*, is found in the walls of the *sanctum*. Ālattūr-udaiyāṉ Sāttaṉ Gunabhattaṉ alias Harachandraśekharaṉ built this *karrali* on orders from Udayapirātti, mother of Madhurāntakadeva Uttamacōḻa. He was rewarded with the title 'Rājakesari , Mūvēnda-vēlāṉ'. (Balasubramaniyan 1971:169-70). The temple at Tiruvāmattūr (South Arcot district) was built by Arukūr *taccaṉ* Nāranaṉ Vēṅkadaṉ alias Tiruvāmattūr Āchāryaṉ as gleaned from an inscription (Balasubramaniyan 1966:110).

Nārttamalai (Pudukkottai district) inscriptions reveal that an artist called *tacca-ācharya* and his father were engaged in *tiruppani* to the following temples: (1) Nārāyaṇar Kōyil, (2) Tiru Ānaikkā Udaiya Nāyaṉār temple and (3) Nācciyār tirukkōyil (Balasubramaniyan 1975:121).

The great *sthapati* who took orders from the Cōḻa monarch, Rājarāja I, to build the Rājarājeśvaram at Thañjāvūr was Vīracōḻa-kuñjaramallaṉ alias Rājarāja -*peruntaccaṉ*. Two more names, Guṇavaṉ Madhurāntakaṉ alias Nityāvinoda *Peruntaccaṉ* and Ilathi Sadayaṉ alias Gandaraditya-*peruntaccaṉ* find mention. Probably they assisted the chief to construct the Thañjāvūr temple (*ibid.*, p.75).

Lokamahādevī, queen of Rājarāja I, erected the Lokamādevīśvaram at Tiruvaiyāṟu. The inscriptions reveal that it was built by Nakkaṉ-āccāṉ alias Kaliyūrgarambai-*peruntaccaṉ* (*ibid.*, p.90).

The brick temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr was modified into a three tiered *vimāna* of black granite, decorated with *cāmaras*, *toraṇas*, *kuṭas*, *nidhas*, *simhamukhas* and *makaras* by Ravi alias Vīra-cōḻa-*peruntaccaṉ* during the period of Rājēndracōḻa I. (*ibid.*, p.300).

The temple at Maruthadu (North Arcot district) owes its creation to Ganapati Maruthadu Nāttu *Peruntaccaṉ* (Balasubramaniyan 1979:157). Lands donated to artisans were known as *śilpi-kāṇi* 'grant to artist'. Village assemblies endowed lands to *śilpis* as revealed from an inscription of the Apratīśvarar temple of Nagar, near Lālgudi. The inscription records granting some lands as *śilpāchāryakkāni* and also some honours and privileges. Tillainayakan is said to have been the *taccāchāryan* of Manakkal alias Virudarājabhayaṅkara-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Malanāḍu (*ibid.*, p.388).

In the East *gopuram* of the Chidambaram temple, we find the figures of two stone masons in relief sculptures (Figs.2-4). Nearby is carved a measuring rod called Chidambara-*mulam* 'Chidambaram yard-stick'. It was the standard measurement adopted in building this temple. Such measuring rods are sculptured in several temples along with names or artists or their sculptures. In the temple of Tiruvannamalai the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *gopuram* lodges the carving of a measuring rod called *idu maḍi*

aḷavattu mulavam which is 20" long between two indications, + and 1, with four intervening marks.

The Varadarāja Perumāḷ temple at Kāñchi has a carving of *tacca mulam*. It could be assigned to the 15th-16th centuries A.D.

Tālamāna, system of measurements, in the Hindu temple building art is a much unexplored area, in view of the complications involved in grasping the systems enumerated in *silpa* and *vāstu* texts. If an attempt, with referene to the epigraphical and other data discussed above, is made something substantial could be derived.

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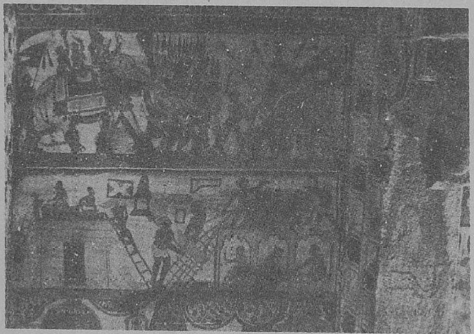
Sattan Gunabhattan *sthapati*, Koneri-rajapuram.

Sthapati with a measuring rod Chidambaram.

Sthapatis with names engraved, North *gopuram*, Chidambaram.

Sthapatis with names engraved North *gopuram*, Chidambaram.



Sthapatis building a temple, Painting in Chidambaram Temple.

Epigraph in Tirumalapadi temple.

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AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE DECCAN DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND OVERSEAS MARKETING

K.S.Mathew

The Portuguese established their factories in several parts of coastal India, especially on the Western Coast, with a view to collecting the necessary commodities from various regions of the hinterland. They were not satisfied with the spices from the Malabar Coast alone and so they gradually extended the area of their interest to the north of the Malabar Coast. They had to get themselves involved in several severe fights in order to monopolize the purchse of the agricultural products of the region. So they moved their headquarters from Cochin to Goa in 1530 and organized the commercial operations from the latter place which remained as the headquarters of the *Estado da India Portuguesa* till 1961. With the spread of the information about various types of agricultural products that were available on the Western Coast of India, the other European powers too decided to fight for their share. This quest for Indian products was intensified after 1580 when the Spanish Crown absorbed Portugal and its dependencies and forbade the sale of Indian commodities to the Protestant Powers, especially the Dutch. It was in these circumstances that the English and the Dutch intensified their attempts to trade with India. Later, the French too came forward under the auspices of the French East India Company. All these various commercial enterprises were chiefly centred on the coastal outlets of the Deccan where there were a host of creeks providing naturally secure shelter for the ships. These regions attracted merchants, pirates and rulers from all over the world, so much so that there were constant fights for the possession of the various ports and trading centres located on the coast. Therefore it is proposed to examine a few details pertaining to the agricultural production and the overseas marketing, based on contemporary sources.

Some of the agricultural products of this region were directly exported to Europe, while others were taken to the Middle Eastern ports, especially to Persia in exchange for silks, horses and so on. Yet others were carried to the South East Asian regions for collecting the spices and other items to be later exported to Europe. A few of them were eagerly sought after by the European traders to exchange for the commodities available in the various parts of coastal India. Thus we find that the agricultural products of the Deccan were directly exported to Europe and to Middle Eastern ports to exchange

them for commodities that were to be exported to Europe or imported to India for further sale. They made huge profits in the exchange of these products for those of the South East Asian countries. Some of the products of the Deccan were also used as means to fund the Oriental trade and commerce of the West Europeans. In other words, the agricultural products of the Deccan played a vital role in the external trade of India and had an important overseas market. In tune with this, the agricultural productions presumably made great strides and so we can find a closer nexus between the agricultural production and the widening overseas market in the 17th century A.D. in the wake of the contending European merchants. It is presumed that the production pattern underwent considerable change during this period and prices went on fluctuating for various reasons. It is also argued that the agricultural production in India, especially in the Deccan, assumed proportions radically different from those of the 16th century A.D. and this was due to the difference of emphasis laid by the merchants of Western Europe. If pepper and other spices were the chief items of export in the sixteenth century, the agricultural products more eagerly sought after by the Europeans in the 17th century, especially in the second half, were indigo and cotton. Moreover, the insistence on particular type of commodities differed from one European power to the other.

The most important agricultural product in volume and in use exported from India in the sixteenth century was pepper. The Portuguese resorted to several means to maximize the export of pepper from India. The King of Portugal, towards the end of the 16th century, concluded a contract with Konrad Rott, an ordinary merchant of Augsburg, and insisted on the supply of a stipulated quantum of pepper in Lisbon. As the enterprise was beyond his resources, Rott sold three eighths of his contract to Giacomo dei Bardi and Company of Florence. Later, in collaboration with the Italian and Portuguese financiers, he entered into a contract with the King of Portugal. After Rott became bankrupt, it was Giovanni Rovellasca, an Italian merchant of Milan, who, supported by a few Italians, the Fuggers and Welsers of Germany, took up the India contract and agreed to send 170,000 *crusados* to India and Malacca every year for the purchase of 30,000 quintals of pepper (*FGFFS* folios 33ff). It seems that the Portuguese attached inexplicable importance to trade in pepper eventhough it was a self defeating attempt. A stipulated amount was set apart for pepper and this amount was generally sent from Portugal to India with special instructions to the officials not to lay hands on this amount for any other purpose. Thus we find that an amount of 180,000 *crusados* was sent from Portugal on March 23,1605 for the purchase of pepper. The King of Portugal wrote to Dom Martim Affonso de Castro, the Viceroy, that no part of it should be taken for any purpose other then the purchase of pepper. He added that if this amount was not sufficient, he could make use of the money of the deceased (*dinheiro de defuntos*) which used to be sent to Portugal (Pato 1880:45). Again on February 23, 1608 the Portuguese King wrote to the Viceroy reminding him of the importance of pepper and the magnitude of the revenue accruing to the Royal

Exchequer from the trade in pepper. Considering this, he had exhorted not to make use of the money being sent every year from Portugal for anything other than pepper. He added that the practice of keeping this amount specifically sent for pepper in the treasury of the monastery of St.Francis in Goa should be followed without fail lest it should be used for purposes other than purchase of pepper (Pato 1880:191). The same sort of preoccupation is shown by the King in his letter dated February 23, 1611 addressed to the Viceroy. He reiterated the royal instruction that the money earmarked for the purchase of pepper should not be spent for anything else, whatever the urgency of the matter might be (Pato 1884:62-3).

The confiscation of the cargoes and ships of the Dutch by Philip II and the closure of the Iberian ports in 1585, 1595 and 1597 prompted them to search for the sources from which these goods came. So, on 24th March 1602 *Vereenidge Oost Indische Compagnie* was formed. Initially, pepper and spices had to be paid for in gold and silver brought all the way from the Netherlands, since the European goods were not very much in demand in the East. Later, the Dutch discovered that these commodities could be purchased in exchange for Indian cloth, and that silver and gold were available in China, Japan, Borneo and Sumatra in return for opium, pearls, diamonds and Indian textiles. When the Dutch entered the port-to-port trade, they were able to generate the finance required for all their needs in the East and the export of gold and silver from Holland was considerably reduced. By the end of the 17th century, the European demand for Indian textiles, piece goods and Bengal silk reduced the demand for pepper and spices which however were still traded in the Near and Middle East. The 18th century saw a still further decline in these commodities when the tea and coffee trades became more important than the trade in textiles.

The Dutch, around 1621, collected spices from the Western coast of India, especially Surat, and took them to Persia for a better sale and collected silk from Persia. Even the English purchased silk from the ports of Persian Gulf for the spices. The Dutch authorities always encouraged the Dutch ships to do the Surat-Persia-Surat run, rather than await the sailing season to Europe lying in the Surat basin and exposing themselves to damage by the worms. This would also keep the sailors engaged, who would otherwise while their time away drinking hard and bringing disrepute to the fatherland (Prakash 1984:153-4). So spices were sent to Persia, Mocha and other ports of the Red Sea to collect silk and make good profit (*ibid.*, 285-6). Cloths were taken by the Dutch to Batavia from Gujarat and it was strongly suggested that more investment should be made in cloth, since it was very profitable. They also collected pepper from Rajapur which was in the erstwhile Adil Shah kingdom of Bijapur.

The English too wanted to have their share in the pepper trade. With this end in view, the English East India Company was established in 1600. Rajapur had a great supply of pepper and so they started a factory there also. It was estimated in 1655 that about 1000 tonnes or

3000 *candis* of pepper could be collected from here every year (*ERS II* 385). Usually it was the Bania merchants who collected pepper for the English and supplied to the Rajapur factory (*ERS I* 277-9). The English exported pepper from India to the Red Sea, Bassora and Hormuz (Tavernier II: 11). Several ships belonging to the kingdom of Maharashtra left the ports of Deccan carrying pepper to Eden, Bassora, Mocha and Muscat and other ports of the Middle East. Though the English started their trade in Surat in 1608 they wanted to get official sanction for their commercial operations from the Mughal Emperor, and so Sir Thomas Roe was sent to India in 1614. This was necessitated chiefly by the difficulties they encountered in breaking the monopoly claimed by the Portuguese over the trade in pepper and other spices (Foster 1926: xiii-xiv). At the instigation of Colbert, the French East India Company (*Campagnie des Indes Orientales*) was founded in 1664 to establish trade relations with India and purchase pepper and other commodites from the East.

Pepper was of three different varieties. Some of the European writers distinguished black, white and long pepper (Linschoten 1885: 72-5). The first one was the common one exported from India to various parts of the world. The overseas market for pepper was mostly for the black one. It was exported by the Europeans to Europe while the Muhammedans exported it to Persia and Arabia. Pepper was ripe by December-January. It was used in the kitchen and by Apothecaries. Some of the European writers give the various uses of pepper in culinary and medical fields (*ibid.*, 75). It was available also in the Kingdom of Bijapur (Tavernier II: 11). It had a good market in Hormuz, Bassora and Mocha and other ports of the Red Sea (*idem*).

The need for pepper in Northern Europe was based on the social life of the period. Under the then existing conditions, animals could be killed for meat only in summer and autumn, and with this supply, provision had to be made for the rest of the year. Meat was preserved either by salting or powdering. The latter process involved the use of a large quantity of mixed spices, especially pepper.

Thus several rival powers were concentrating their attention on pepper trade and therefore, it is to be presumed that in tune with the increasing demand for pepper, the production of the same was also intensified. Though we have sources to affirm that there was a 275 percent increase in the production of pepper in the 16th century, we are not in a position to give a clear indication regarding the actual percentage of increase in the production of pepper. Most of our data are based on the exports only. However, it is worthwhile to inquire into the changes brought about in the mode of production, techniques of production and several other aspects of the same. A thorough study of the documents connected with the agrarian life of the hinterland will be required to do justice to this problem.

Another important agricultural product that had a very important overseas market was cotton. As mentioned earlier, probably it was the Dutch who brought about a revolutionary change in the commodity composition of export from India in the second half of the 17th century.

Whereas pepper accounted for half of their imports in the middle of the century and textiles contributed less than one-fifth, these two commodities were more or less evenly matched two decades later, contributing both about one-fourth of the total trade. At the end of the century, textiles accounted for more than 40 percent of Dutch - Asian trade. British - Asian trade showed a similar trend as far as the increase of the textile trade was concerned; but it witnessed an even greater decline of the contribution of pepper to the total value of their trade. The amount of pepper which they imported around 1670 and at the turn of the century remained practically the same, but at the earlier date it accounted for 25 percent of total imports and around 1700 only for about 7 percent. Textiles accounted for about 70 percent both at the earlier and later dates, but the value of the textiles exported from Asia had increased fourfold and the proceeds of the sales of these textiles in London had increased in the same measure.

The Dutch realised the importance of cotton and cotton textiles and so they went on repeating the instruction to invest all the money in Surat for the purchase of cotton for exchanging it for pepper and other spices from the South East Asian countries. They realised that the investment in indigo was not as profitable as that in textiles and cotton from Gujarat. A letter dated July 22, 1622 has this: "If everything went well, the Company could expect to earn 200 percent profit on indigo. But if the same amount of money were invested in Gujarat clothes, which, in turn, were exchanged for pepper for sale in Holland, the Company could expect a 500 percent return on the original investment in Gujarat clothes. Besides, the turnover would have been quicker in the case of pepper than in that of Indigo" (*ibid.*, 216).

The English too found it necessary to purchase cotton yarn, cotton textiles and silk from various parts of the Deccan. In 1672 Shivaji sent clothes worth Rs.6,000 to the English at Bombay. Coarse cloth was available in Rajapore and the Bania merchants procured it for the English in 1673 (*ibid.*, 277, 279). Silk textiles were produced in Chaul and a number of weavers were settled in upper Chaul which was under the jurisdiction of Shivaji (*ibid.*, II:8). Good cotton yarn was available at Raybag and other places in Maharashtra and the British collected it from these areas (*ibid.*, 13). The Deccan clothes of Rajapore were available at a rate cheaper than at Surat and therefore the English were enthusiastic in their attempts to establish their factory there (*ibid.*, 108).

Cotton cloths of Navsari had a great supply of lemons for bleaching the cotton cloths in large fields. The English and the Dutch companies exported large quantities of spun cotton to Europe. Unspun cotton was not sent to Europe in the seventeenth century. But it was sent chiefly to Red Sea, Hormuz, Bassora, and sometimes to the island of Sunda and Philippines. This was because unspun cotton was too bulky and of too small a value to be sent to Europe.

The next agricultural product of great demand was indigo. Chopra (in the East Khandesh District, Bombay) produced indigo which was next to that of Sarkej in Gujarat (*ibid.*,

7-8). The Europeans give details of indigo preparation. Indigo was taken from a plant *(indigofera intotoria)* which is sown every year after the rains: before preparation it very much resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, the first cutting taking place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high: and it in then cut within 6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is certainly better than those leaves which follow; the second yielding less by 10 to 12 percent than the first; and the third 20 percent less than the second. It is classified by the colour, determined when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of the indigo made from the fist crop is a violet-blue, which is more brilliant and more vivid than the others, and that of the second is more vivid than that of the third. But besides this difference, which causes a considerable effect on the price, the Indians manipulated the weight and quality.

The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French took great interest in indigo. The Portuguese had made it an object of royal monopoly and permitted no man except the contractor to deal in this. Indigo of Gujarat was of great value. The English purchased indigo and cloth in the port of Swally near Surat, in the early part of the seventeenth century. Around 1621 they purchased indigo from Surat and sent to England along with silk and cotton cloths. The Dutch too purchased large quantity of indigo from Surat about the same time *(ibid.,* 174). It was sent by the Dutch both to Batavia and Europe but the larger volume of indigo and cloths seems to have been always sent to Batavia to be exchanged for spices *(ibid.,* 202). The importance attached to indigo and cloths to be sent to Batavia could be gauged from the letter of Van den Broecke, dated 22nd July 1622, in which he says that "While indigo was an important item, cloths were even more important, because without these, the procurement of return cargo for Europe could not be carried on satisfactorily *(ibid.,* 214). In 1622, 42,000 pounds of indigo from Surat was sent to Batavia *(ibid.,* 216). The cultivation and the availability of indigo on account of greater demand went on increasing and so the Dutch authorities instructed the officers in Surat to shift their interest from indigo to clothes and wrote that "it would have been more profitable if all the available funds had been invested in Gujarat Clothes to the exclusion of indigo" *(ibid.,* 22). In 1623, the English Traders purchased 1700 bales of indigo from Sarkej *(ibid.,* 286).

Another agricultural product of great circulation was coconut. The English East India Company seems to have been the most interested party in coconuts of the Deccan. Maharashtra under Shivaji supplied a lot of coconuts to the British. As Shivaji had no cash to pay for the commodities he purchased from the English, he supplied coconuts to them *(ibid.,* 59). Once the British got coconuts worth 5000 *pagodas* from Shivaji due to them *(ibid.,* II:56). Rajapore in the former Adil Shahi Kingdom supplied a good number of coconuts to the English East India Company *(ibid.,* 90). They took a good many coconuts from Rajapore in 1676 *(ibid.,* 112). In fact, Rajapore was one of the chief centres from where large number of coconuts were collected by the English East India Company. Once some 500,000

coconuts were purchased by them from Rajapore *(ibid.,* 206).

Betelnut too was another important agricultural product the Deccan supplied to the English in the 17th century. Chaul was one of the chief centres of the supply of betelnut. The English East India Company purchased a great volume of betelnut from Rajapore in 1676 *(ibid.,* 90). Narag Sunay procured 100 maunds of betelnut for the English in 1677 *(ibid.,* 112). Even for the clearance of the dues from Shivaji, the British purchased betelnuts *(ibid.,* 152). In 1679 the English collected 292 *candis* of betelnuts from Rajapore and later 100 *candis* in 1680 *(ibid.,* 291, 297,309).

Opium and Bhang were also some of the products of the Deccan that had been in circulation in the overseas market. Gujarat and Cambay provided the greater part of the Indian opium. This was reddish and softer. European writers distinguished two types of opium, namely, sweet and bitter. Chaul was one of the important places where opium was either sold or produced. Similarly, bhang which has almost a similar effect as opium was also sold. It was mixed with several other things like nutmug, mace, cloves, camphor, amber and opium to make an intoxicating drink. This was also in the market of Chaul. Cardamom, ginger, cinnamon and timber were other agricultural products that were sought after by the European powers for international marketing.

If the international markets are to be identified, we may point out a few of them such as Aden, Muscat, Bassora, Mocha and a few other centres of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, as far as the Middle East is concerned. Pepper and other spices were the chief items sold in these overseas markets. In the South East Asian countries a number of places like Batavia, Malacca and so on constituted the chief centres of trade, where the agricultural products of the Deccan found profitable marketing. Apart from these, there were the markets of Portugal, Spain, England, Holland and France where some of the agricultural products of the Deccan were directly sold. Moreover, the products of Deccan were exchanged on the coastal regions of India itself:

The markets created by the rival powers had a great impact on the price of these commodities. The Portuguese employed all the possible means to stick on to the price fixed by them long back, while the other European powers, keen on getting as much volume of commodities as possible, were forced to give better prices to the producers and merchants. Thus, for example, both the Dutch and the English had access to the demand markets for indigo in Persia and Europe. Since there was no co-ordinated effort among the rival powers to stabilize the price of commodities like indigo, the bidding against one another resulted in a ten percent increase in 1622 and 1628 (Radwan 1978:66). The market for spices and European goods was relatively small compared to the population of the area and to the monetized commercial population. Not only was the total potential market small, but also the English during 1621-1628 imported spices into Western India as did the Dutch. Without a trading monopoly, the

small market was easily saturated causing great fluctuations in price. It was reported that by 1626 the price of spices had fallen 30 percent from the preceding year since the English brought a large shipment to India (*ibid.*, 67).

This fluctuation had great impact on the production of spices and pepper on the West Coast of India. But the Dutch and the English who wanted to collect as much cotton, cotton fabrics and indigo for importing spices and pepper from other parts of Asia, shifted their interest from spices to cotton, indigo and so on. This gave a boost to the production of indigo and cotton. It seems that surplus production of indigo made some of the Europeans state that it was oversupplied in the market of Batavia, as seen above. Yet the production of cotton and cotton textiles went on increasing and finally the cotton pruducing areas held an important position in the international economy in general and the economic life of India in particular. The final turn of events in the colonial history of India in the period of industrial capital is partially due to the importance of cotton and the change brought about in the agricultural products that turned out to be the raw material for the mechanized industries in the West. Thus, we find that in the 17th century, the market controlled the production and the overseas marketing exerted deeper influence on agricultural production.

It may be concluded that pepper and spices had markets chiefly in Europe, while cotton and indigo had markets in Europe as well as South East Asian countries and with these products the Europeans were in a position to acquire enough spices from the other parts of Asia. Therefore, in the international trade, cotton and indigo took the place of spices and the agricultural products of the Deccan were thus seriously affected by the changing pattern of overseas marketing.

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CŌḺA EXPANSION IN SOUTHERN KARNĀTAKA DURING RĀJARĀJA'S PERIOD

Madhav N. Katti.

The Cōla dynasty can claim to have produced some of the greatest rulers of India. The emergence of Cōḻa power from obscurity, its rise to an imperial position and its conflicts first with the Rāṣṭrakūtas from beyond Tungabhadra and later with their successors, the Cālukyas of Kalyāni form the dominant features of the history of the next 350 years (850 to 1200 A.D.) as stated succinctly by Prof.Nilakanta Sastri. The Cōḻas have enriched the cultural history of India, set a new trend in the socio-economic history of South India and introduced an effective system of administration. Major part of the credit for all this goes to the emperor Rājarāja I and his loyal son and successor, Rājēndra Cōḻa I, who assisted his father very efficiently in not only annexing new territories to the Cōḻa kingdom, but also in establishing a firm system of administration in most parts of the conquered region.

After Rājarāja came to power in A.D.985, he started stabilising his administration and conquering new territories. Amongst the areas conquerred by him in the early phase, Gaṅgapādi Nolambavādi, Taḍigaipādi-all parts of the Southern Karnataka, are very important. Parts of Northern Karnataka (i.e., Rattapādi) were conqurered later. This paper deals with the evidences provided by the epigraphs discovered in Coorg, Mysore, Mandya, Bangalore, Kolar and Tumkur Districts and falling within the period of the rule of Rājarāja I. More than two dozen epigraphs of this ruler have been traced in these districts. The records are in Tamil language and script, Kannada language and script, Tamil language and Kannada script, partly in Tamil and Kannada languages and scripts and Tamil language, *grantha* and Tamil scripts.

An insription from Kempanapura, Mysore district *(EC III,* Ch. 145), dated in A.D.991, December,24 records some lands for educational purposes. The record belongs to the 6th regnal year of Rājarāja I and addresses the king as:

Svasti śrī vimala-yaśah prastutanā-nupamita-guṇaganāvāsaṁ sadāvistā-ritan akhila mahī-prastuta nene-negaldu-Cōḻanārāyanana vijayābhiv-ridhi sukha-samkathā-vinodadiṁ-saluttamire, śakanṛipakālātita-saṁvatsara 913 Khara sam... tadvar-śābhyantaraḍa Pushyamāsada Utta-rāyana-saṁkrāmti...

By the nature of the record it is clear that Cōḻaṉārāyaṇa referred to in the inscription is none else but Rajaraja I. It follows the *Saka* pattern of dating prevalent in Karnataka.

Another inscription from Honganur (*EC IV:* 67) is very interesting. It gives the usual *praśasti* of Rājarāja commencing with *tirumagalpōla perunnila-celvi...*

There are a number of inscriptions from the region under discussion which give this *praśasti* of Rājarāja. A third inscription from the same place (*EC IV:* 57) which gives the same *praśasti* refers to the *mahājanas* of the place.

A record from Tadamalingi, Mysore District (*EC V:* 221) giving the same *praśasti tirumagalpōla* etc. refers to the conquest of Irattapādi. We know from the Cōḻa inscriptions as well as records of Satyāśraya of the Kalyāṇa Cālukya family that the Cōḻas attacked the Cālukya area under Satyasraya and marched up to Donur in Bijapur District. Though the record under discussion is not dated, as we know that Satyasraya ruled upto A.D.1008 and recovered parts of the lost territory, the record from Tadamalingi must be placed slightly earlier than A.D.1008. The record is thus very important for the Cōḻa history. It also refers to the temple treasury of Piriya-Kundavai and Iravi-kula-māṇikka-Viṇṇagar, for which grants of lands are made. Rājarāja had the title (*Iravikula mānikkam*) and hence the construction of this temple appears to have been caused by him. Piriya-Kundavai is evidently the sister of Rājarāja. The inscription also states that the lands were granted after being purchased for 100 *kalañju* of pure gold.

The record from Kaliyūr dated 929, *Parabhāva, Chaitra ba.* 5, Sunday (A.D.1008 March 22) is very important. It refers to the battle of Kaliyūr and the conquest of Poysala, Būtuga, Senavara, Nolamba Chandiga, Ponna, Goyiga, Nanniga, Bīruga, Nagavarma, Siriga etc. Here, obviously Poysala is Hoysala; Būtuga and Nanniga remind us of the Gaṅgā Chiefs and Nolamba reminds us of the Nolamba chief. The record is engraved on a pillar of victory *Jayasthamba* and the hero Aprameya is referred to as the lord of Kottamaṅgala and a great loyal feudatory of Rājarājadeva (*Rājarāja-pāda-paṁkajabhramara*).

Amongst the titles of Rājarāja revealed by the inscriptions in the area under discussion a number of records refer to him as Rājakēsari (*alias* Rājarāja), Rājarāja-kēsari and simply as Rājarāja also. It is very interesting to note that he is also referred to as *Permānadi*, *Mummudi Cōḻa, Cōḻanārāyana* etc. in some inscriptions. The title *Permānadi* is adopted in the usual fashion of the Karnataka kings and more so the Gaṅgās, whose area the Cōḻas had annexed. The date of the records is given mostly in the *Śaka* era and this shows that the Cōḻa rulers had to adopt the system of the conquered area.

One record from Balamuri, Mysore district which is dated *Śaka* 934, *Paridhāvi sam.*, corresponding to A.D. 1012 refers to Gangavādi, Rattapādi, Malenadelum, Nolamba-Āndhra-digbhagam; Koṅgu, Kaliṅga and Pāndya territories and states that the kings of these countries were killed and the entire area became a part of Cōḻanāḍu. Rājarāja, who bears the titles *Kōvirāja -Rājakesari - Varman* Śrī-Rājarāja is called Cōḻa-Cakrēśara. It is clear from this, that by this time all these territories were conquered by Rājarāja. Of course, we know that some of them were annexed to his empire and some were only

conquered but were recovered by the rulers of these areas (like Raṭṭa-pādi). In this inscription his feaudatory is mentioned Pañchavaṉ-Mahārāya described as *Mummaḍi-Cōḻana-Gandha-vāraṇa* and the *Mahadandanayaka* of Veṅgi and Gaṅgāmandalam. The inscription refers to a grant for the perpetual lamp for the offerings etc., of the deity Mahādeva at Balam-bu-tīrtha, evidently the findspot of the record. Here, the feudatory Pañchavaṉ-Mahāraja mentioned as *gandhavāraṇa* of Mummaḍi Cōḷa is in all probability Rājēndra I who was the Crown-Prince.

One record from Mālūrpaṭna (*EC IX:* 127) assignable to the 29th regnal year of the king registers that the merchant community of Maṉalūppāl *alias* Nigarili-cōḷapuram provided some grants for the offerings in the temple of Jayaṅgonda-cōḷa-viṇnagar-āḻvār.

Another inscription from the same place, but undated, also refers to Maṉalūrppāl *alias* Nigarili-cōḷa-puram. These records provide very interesting evidence to show that in the latter part of his reign, Rāja-rāja had been able to effect the system of administration which was prevalent in other parts of Tamil Nadu, in this annexed area also. The conquered area was called *Nigari-licōlamaṇḍalam* during this period.

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TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE THANJAVUR DELTA AS GLEANED FROM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE 16TH-18TH CENTURIES.

Pulavar S.Raju.

Some Copper-Plate records of the 16th-18th centuries collected by the Department of Epigraphy of the Tamil University supply a fund of information on some aspects of the trade and commerce in the Tamil Nadu, particularly in the Thanjavur delta, during the early modern period. This evidence has not been tapped so far for writing the modern socio-economic history. This paper attempts to highlight the nature of the available evidence.

Markets

The term *pēṭṭai* denoting a market-place is known since the Cōḻa times. But it is certain that place-names with the *pēṭṭai* suffix increased during and after the Vijayanagar period. The copper plates under study refer to a number of *pēttais* in the Thanjavur District. Some towns like Thanjavur had local *pēṭṭais*, each specializing in a single commodity, e.g. *nellup-pēṭṭai*, *āttup-pēṭṭai*. Some *pēṭṭais* were named after the particular community of traders living and transacting in them. Some of the *pēṭṭais* were periodical markets *(sandai)*, like weekly markets.

Closely related to the *pēṭṭai* were the *Paṭṭadai*. All non-agricultural craftsmen and artisans and also traders were known by this general term. This term also denoted the shops and workshops of the traders and craftsmen. The '18 *paṭṭaḍai'* was a conventional term to denote groups of varied craftsmen and traders. Many of the *pēṭṭai* and *pattadai* that existed in the Thanjavur town during the 18th century can still be recognized with slightly altered names. Some factories (mentioned as *pēttiri-vīḍu* in Tamil) are referred to in coastal areas.

Merchandise

Among the merchandise are mentioned articles made of iron, copper and zinc, cloth, cotton and silk threads of different colours, dyes, sandalwood, ivory, chemicals, etc. Opium was freely sold in shops. Grocery *(palasarakku)* shops were there in good number.

The merchandise were sold from permanent shops *(kaḍai)* or by street hawkers. Pack animals were used to carry articles to distant places. There were many godowns called *kidangu*, *kiṭṭangi* or *kottiyam*. Brokers played a role in the trade. Different measures were in use for different articles. Grain measures (quantity) were known as *poti*, *chumai*, *kaṇḍi*, *karisu*, *mūttai*, *pākkam*, etc.; measures

by weight were denoted by the terms *tulai, katti, bāram,* etc.; and liquid measures were *ādam, kāṇam,* etc. Cloth bundles were called *kattu* or *chippam.*

Tolls *(Suṅgam)* were levied on merchandise imported into or exported from local places and also on merchandise transacted in port-towns. The merchants either voluntarily or at the command of the rulers set apart a proportion of their wares or part of their sale proceeds as *magamai* (common-fund dues) for running some charity.

Maritime Trade

There is some information regarding the sea trade also. Seagoing vessels were known by the terms *kappal, pāru, padagu, tōṇi* and *surippu.* Tirumullaivāyal was an important port wherefrom the paddy of the Thanjavur delta was exported to Jaffna in Sri Lanka. This trade with Sri Lanka was transacted on credit basis also.

Trading Communities

Though there existed divergent trading communities, they joined together on many an occasion for a common purpose. For instance a copper plate of 1765 from Coimbatore refers to the decision to pay a *magamai* for a charity by eight different communities, viz., the five-hundred *kuḍip-pāttam, Telugu-Chettis* of the '24 Houses', the Twelve *Nagaram,* the *Rāvuttar* (Muslims) of Vēdasandūr, the *Kōmuttis,* the Merchants of Allitturai, the *Dēvanga-Chettis* and the Merchants of *Saṅgarāsu-pēttai.* Even religions or sects were no hindrance to such unity. Muslims and Christians are found to donate liberally to Hindu temples. There is an interesting record from Tiruppanandāḷ which refers to gifts of the Merchants of the Dutch Company to some renovation work in the Chidambaram temple.

Sources

1.	Darumapuram	Copper	Plate	of Krisna Dēva Rāya A.D. 1513
2.	Batavia	"	"	of Ekōji I A.D. 1676
3.	Svāmimalai	"	"	of Ekōji II A.D. 1679
4.	Ariyalūr	"	"	of Vijaya Oppilā Maḻavarāyar A.D.1703.
5.	Koṅganeśwar Temple	"	"	of Ekōji II A.D.1735.
6.	Thirupanandāḷ	"	"	of the Merchants of Parangi-pēttai A.D.1747
7.	"	"	"	of the Dutch Company A.D.1747
8.	Thañjāvūr	"	"	of Pratāp Sing A.D. 1757.
9.	Koṅganeśvar Temple	"	"	of Pratāp Sing A.D.1758
10.	Thiruvāvaḍuturai (Coimbatore)	"	"	of Krisṇa Rāja Udayār A.D.1765.
11.	Darumapuram	"	"	of Thulaja A.D.1770.
12.	Darumapuram	"	"	of Veṅkatāchalam Reddiyār A.D.1795.

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ANCIENT PORTS OF THE TAMILNADU COAST BASED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES*

P.Narayana Babu and Shivananda Venkatarao

The main source materials for the study of the ancient ports in the early Tamil Country comprising of ancient Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, Cōḻamaṇḍalam and Pāṇḍiamaṇḍalam are the ancient Tamil Literature, the valuable accounts of the foreign travellers and the archaeological excavations and explorations. The literary evidences as gathered from the Caṅkam anthologies variously describe the ancient ports on the east coast in connection with the trade activity with the Romans. The accounts of the foreign travellers like Ptolemy and the Greek author of the Periplus of Erythraean Sea also give us authenticated information on the trade activities of the Tamil country with other foreign countries, both eastern and western. Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* also mentions some ports, such as, Pāṇḍya Kavāṭa on the mouth of Tambraparani known for its pearls, Kōṭi as known for gems, etc.

Archaeological explorations and excavations conducted in recent years either by the Survey or other agencies such as State Department of Archaeology, Universities, etc., along the coastal area have brought to light a large number of sites with Roman antiquities -- coins, pottery and other antiquities. In this connection mention may be made of Māmallapuram, Vasavasamudram, Pūñjēri, Kāñchipuram, Seṅgamēḍu, Arikkamēḍu, Karaikāḍu, Kuḍikāḍu (Nattamēḍu), Kāvēripaṭṭiṇam, Korkai, Toṇḍi, Alagaṅkuḷam, Kāyal, etc. Invariably these sites have yielded peculiar pottery of Roman origin known as rouletted ware and amphorae for storing wine or oil. Some of the sites situated inland have also yielded similar evidence which prove its contact with the port towns. For example, Kanchipuram, though it is nearly 70 kms. inland from the east coast, is mentioned as a port by Hiuen Tsang. The city is connected to the sea at Vasavasamudram through the river Palar. Similarly Melsathamaṅgalam situated 10 kms. west of Arikkamedu on the dried up river bed of Sankarabharani, which has been recently probed by the Archaeological Survey of India yielded evidence of Roman contact.

South of Madras the famous Pallava Art Centre. Mamallapuram has yielded Roman coins and certain other brick structures on the coast which go to prove that this place also served as port in the early centuries of the Christian era. The *Periplus of Erythraean Sea* (1st century A.D.) refers to it along

* Paper presented to the Seminar on Underwater Archaeology conducted the Tamil University, Oct.16-18, 1983.

with Poduke as a port north of the Kāveri. The Greek geographer Ptolemy (2nd Century A.D.) refers to it as Malange. The stray finds of Roman coins, pottery and the brick structures in the vicinity of Mahabalipuram testify to its importance as a trading centre. It is not known whether the ancient town was considerably washed away by the sea. Archaeological explorations using the techniques of underwater archeology may throw fresh light for the location of the submerged portion, if any, at Mamallapuram.

N.S. Ramaswamy (1980:4) following Raghava Aiyangar identifies Nirpeyar mentioned in *Perumpāṇārrup-paḍai*, one of the Caṅkam classics with Mamallapuram and others identified it with Sadras, Sadira-Vitanga-Pattinam. The Tamil work mentioned above describes the port of Nirpeyar, its grand shore surrounded by ships which brought horses and other imports from the west. The Pallava inscription of Rajasimha (*EI* XVIII:145) at Vayalur situated on the bank of the river Pālār gives very interesting information regarding Rājasiṁha's sway over many islands. Vasavasamudram (Nagasamy & Majeed 1978) situated about 15 kms. south of Mamallapuram on the river Palar, joins the Bay of Bengal very near to the site. The exploration by the Archaeological Survey of India and excavations by the State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, yielded amphorae pieces of Roman origin, typical rouletted ware of grey fabric, Tamil Brahmi letters engraved on pottery and an inscribed shell (Brahmi) are noteworthy. The proximity of the site to the sea and the river and the materials yielded indicate that it was evidently a port town.

The *Periplus of Erythraean Sea* mentions three principal ports in the order of Kamara, Poduke and Sopatma. Of these, Poduke has been identified with Pondicherry (Arikkamedu) and Sopatma with the Modern Marakāṇam lying between Pondicherry and Madras. The identification of the first one, Kamara, is a matter of controversy. Some identify this with Khaberi of Ptolemy or Puhar of the Sangam literature. Mortimer Wheeler (1954) identified it with Tranquebar.

The ancient site of Arikkamedu, situated very close to Pondicherry at the mouth of Ariyankuppam river attracted the attention of G.Jouveau Dubreuil as early as 1937, who collected beads and gems of Roman make and a Roman intaglio. Some preliminary excavation was done in 1941 by French authorities and it was only in 1945 Sir Mortimer Wheeler excavated the site on a large scale to give a reasonable picture of the ancient settlement, including its contact with the Roman world. The excavations yielded Roman pottery datable to 2nd quarter of the 1st century A.D. and other notable features include the identification of the warehouse and dye-vats. The warehouse, 135 m. wide, is oblong in plan with an opening into the river.

The significant ceramic evidence is the Roman amphorae, Arretine ware, (Red-glassed pottery), rouletted ware, Roman glass etc. In the southern sector of the town, industrial establishments were noticed, the chief among them being two walled courtyards used in the preparation and dyeing of muslin, one of the main items of export from this port.

Another important evidence of this place is the bead-making industry suggesting the presence of western craftsman as evidenced by the occurrence of gold, semi-precious stones, glass, gems carved with intaglio designs by Graeco-Roman gem cutters, and some unfinished ones.

Further south, Nāgapattinam must have been a fairly busy port during the early Chōla period where a brick wharf existed in the 5th century A.D. (Rao:1970:94). In the course of the pile driving operations near the present harbour some brick structures were noticed and it requires further investigations.

Another important site explored as early as 1956 by the Archaeological Survey of India is that of Nattamedu (*IAR* 1967-68) situated in Kudikadu village, which lies on the main road from Cuddalore to Chidambaram. This extensive mound situated very close to the sea shore was covered by a sand deposit of about 4 metres. The importance of the site lies in the fact that it was a bead manufacturing centre since the collections consist of unfinished beads, lumps of banded agate, and crystal cores, along with the finished beads of agate, chalcedony, jasper and crystal which clearly indicates that the beads were once manufactured here in the early centuries of the Christian era. The associated pottery here was rouletted ware in large quantities.

The excavation at another important site of Karaikadu (*IAR* 1966-67:21) in District South Arcot by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1967-68 brought out a single phase culture datable to 1st century A.D. Though the excavation was very limited in nature, it has yielded the vestiges of bead-making industry of the early centuries of the Christian era. Beads of semi-precious stones such as crystal, jasper, chalcedony, agate, carnelian in various stages of preparations were found in this stratum along with typical rouletted pottery. Finished and unfinished glass beads together with a large number of shapeless vitreous slag undobutedly indicate local manufacture.

Together with the arretine wares, a number of fragments of conical bottomed amphorae in coarse red fabric were found in all the layers of occupation. A proton magnetometer survey conducted by Dr.Paramasivam revealed vestiges of certain structures.

The glass beads from Kanchipuram, Karaikadu and Kaveripattinam were analysed by the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory of the University of California. According to them the specimens are divisible into three basic categories on the basis of their alkalic content, sodium or potassium.

In the first category:-

Karaikadu - sample No.26 containing 11% potassium (K) and 4% Sodium (NA).

In the second category:-

Sample No. 47 containing 8% K and 4% Na.

All other specimens fall into the third category with potassium

less than 3% and sodium ranging from 10% to 16%. The specimens in this category include remaining samples from Karaikadu and also some samples from Kanchipuram and Kaveripattinam.

According to the experts the third category resembles the trade wind beads of east and south Africa and the Philippines islands, of which analysis has been made. The beads of Karaikadu seem to have been exported to the countries mentioned above. It is further supported by the discovery of the implements of the typical South Indian Megalithic period, viz., knives, daggers, axes, spears, points, etc., and beads of glass in the Philippines.

Further south is the most important port of the early Chōḻas, Kaveripattinam which is identified with the Puhār of the literature.

It is clear that the town was supposed to be considerably submerged by the sea indicated by shallow sea with tuffs. It is also supported by the fishermen's statements about the existence of what they regard as buildings underneath the sea. It is reported that the sea has been encroaching that area even during the beginning of the 20th century. The local tradition is that about 9/10ths of the ancient city has been swallowed by the sea.

It is interesting to note that the details given in the Tamil works, *Silappadikāram*, *Maṇimēkalai*, *Paṭṭiṉappālai*, do not tally with the present topography of the area in the neighbourhood of Kaveripattinam nor is the river Kaveri at that place so *wide as described in the above* literature. The present incurved nature of the coast line here apparently indicates the encroachment of the sea over land.

The explorations conducted here in 1952 by the Archaeological Survey of India and information collected from the fishermen indicate that the depth of the sea suddenly goes down to about 45 m. at a distance of about 15 m. from the sea coast, and this depth seems to be the same for about a kilometer, after which the sea becomes verily fathomless.

The exploration carried out by the National Institute of Oceanography in 1981 observed a depth ranging from 7-23 metres, for about 20 kms from the shore. This should be confirmed by further probes in the matter.

In mid-1960's Dr. Paramasivam conducted a Survey on the beach at Kaveripattinam about 6 m. from the water's edge. A grid was said to have been formed 16 x 20 m for magnetic measurements at intervals of 2 m. The result yielded the presence of buried archaeological materials under the sands which indicate that the sea was far away when the settlement of Kaveripattinam sprang up and that it encroached on the land at later times. The results of the survey were submitted to UNESCO in 1968.

The problem now whether this famous town has been engulfed by the sea or otherwise can be solved only after a thorough examination of the physiography and geology of the Kaveri delta since it is connected with the problem of raised

or submerged sea beaches, the problem of changed river courses and the problem of original topography prior to the irrigation projects. Thus a solution to this question depends much on geological factors. Added to this the study of seismic changes regarding the formation of the area and the archaeological explorations adopting the techniques of underwater archaeology may be useful for the location of ancient archaeological remnants in the sea.

As early as 1950 Lt.Col. S.G.Manavala Ramanujam, the then Vice-Chancellor of Annamalai University who was keenly interested in the study of underwater archaeology at Kaveripattinam made request to both Central and State Governments. But it is very sad to place on record that no action seems to have been taken on such an important work till recently.

The excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India since 1963 revealing the remains of what appears to be a wharf in the backwaters of the Bay of Bengal at Kaveripattinam indicate the trading operations. The structure in 'X' shape with a central channel line with two rows of wooden posts laid in Kīḻayūr has been identified as a landing pier for boats.

In addition to the sturctures, the occurrence of square copper coin with elephant on one side and tiger with an uplifted tail on the other side, besides rouletted ware and black and red ware, suggests that it was a flourishing port in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Other important ports further south are Toṇḍi, Koṟkai, Kāyal and Kōṭṭaimēḍu.

Toṇḍi about 75 km. from Madurai on the east coast is described in early Tamil literature as one of the chief ports of the Pandyas. Intensive investigation may bring material evidence to prove the literary evidences. The next site, Korkai on the mouth of Tambraparani in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu, was an ancient capital of early Pāṇḍyas.

The early Sangam literature and the early geógraphers describe this place as an important port for pearl fishery. An attempt was made to excavate this site by Caldwell as early as 1827. The Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology excavated (*IAR* 1968-69:32-3) the site in 1968-69 which yielded a continuous occupation of the site right from the Megalithic period onwards.

The importance of Korkai as a centre for pearl fishery is confirmed by the excavations, wherein innumerable pearl oysters in the various levels of the site, were encountered. The ceramic evidence include rouletted ware of local origin along with other usual wares.

The recently discovered site on the Coromandal coast at the confluence of river Vaigai with the Bay of Bengal is knwon as 'Kottaimedu' situated to the west of the small village Aḻagaṅkuḷam in Ramanathapuram district.

The surface collections of this area by the State Archaeological Department are said to have close

resemblance to the material evidence of Arikkamedu in Pondicherry, the pottery evidence being arretine ware, rouletted ware and amphorae.

The notable finds include swan chank pieces for manufacturing shell bangles which might be one of the many items exported from this part of the country. Thus the site near Alagangkulam seem to have had flourishing trade with the Roman empire in the first centuries of the Christian era and formed a port of the Pandyan country of the medieval period.

The practice of constructing wharfs and dockyards as revealed by the Archaeological excavations at the Indus site of Lothal goes back to 2350 B.C. In South India also, the excavations conducted in the early historic sites at sea ports have revealed huge brick structures, which corroborate the accounts given by the author of the Periplus and by Ptolemy and signify some kind of dockyard for anchoring ships, and wharfs.

The noteworthy feature of all these sites lies in the fact that they have evidences of Roman contact, but what about other countries nearer the peninsular India? They had invariably contacts with the Romans, who were very fond of South Indian spices, precious stones, ivory, silks, sandalwood, muslin and peacocks. From Rome, gold and wine were imported and even Roman soldiers and women.

It is also a well established fact that there were cultural contacts between India and South-East Asian countries. The influence of Indian tradition in architecture, art and literature can be seen in some of the monuments of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Malaya, Cambodia, etc. To substantiate this we have ample epigraphical evidences. But the role played by ancient ports in spreading Indian culture in far off countries consequent to the development of sea-going vessels, for transport of cargo and passengers, has to be established.

The study of ancient ports in other countries for this purpose would be an ideal but difficult task. But investigation by under-water archaeology may bring to light the sea-engulfed vestiges and solve many of the problems. We hope that the day is not far off, when with the efforts of the Tamil University, to discover ship wrecks of the earlier periods, a flood of information will be brought to light on the maritime activities of the ancient Tamil Country.

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GLIMPSES OF SEMINAR PROCEEDINGS: POPULATION STRUCTURES AMONG TRIBES

K.N.Reddy.

1.Resumé of the Seminar

Prof.Subba Reddy, Prof. Amitabha Basu and members of the house, I shall present before you very briefly the various aspects covered in the present seminar on 'Population Structures among Tribes'. I believe that more view points could be heard from Prof.Amitabha Basu.

We had five full sessions in the spread of three days and all days have gone by in no time. In the first session of the first day five papers were presented, followed by a special lecture on 'Population size and sub-divisions' by Prof. Amitabha Basu. There was lively discussion on all papers and especially on the special lecture which continued more than an hour over the scheduled time. The populations covered in this session were Nilgiri Iruḷas, Coimbatore Iruḷas, South India Iruḷas, and Naik Goṇḍs of Maharashtra. What did we get from these papers and the special lecture? It appears to me that a clear trend is now emerging with regard to demographic studies; they are no longer mere descriptive ones; we now see the real academic use of such studies and their relevance for development purposes. The attention is being given now to take up studies at micro level of a population and interpret its culture and biology. How cultural divisions of a population like lineages, clans, phratries and moities, are acting as factors affecting the non-random mating and the extent of deviations from panmixis were observed from the above populations. Dialectical variations are also leading to divisions within the population resulting in reproductive isolation. A greater need is now felt for the unification of methodology in demographic studies which is necessary to make the data fit for cross-cultural comparisons.

The second day papers and special lecture on 'Approaches to the study of population structures with special reference to Indian Tribes' have received good attention and discussion under the chairmenship of Prof.Rami Reddy and Prof.Subbha Reddy. The populations covered in the first session of the second day were Tōḍas of Nilgiris, the Bhotia tribe of Kumaon Himalayas, the K̲inners of North Western Himalayas and the Sherpas of Nepal. The biology and culture of these populations though interesting, we could not arrive at any definite scientific conclusions for their slow growth and low fertility rates. Time seems

ripe to bestow keen interest in tackling these issues and taking up of problem oriented studies.

In the afternoon session of the second day we had been educated on the populations like Orans of Orissa, Sugalis and Konda Kammaras of Andhra Pradesh, Narikoravas of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the Cōlanāickan of Kerala, and the Kolams of Andhra Pradesh. More attention was given to small populations like Cōlanāickan and Narikoravas in terms of their problem of extinction and how best development programmes could be implemented among such populations. The special lecture presented by Prof. Rami Reddy reviewd the tribal demographic situation in India, the importance of population structures, factors contributing to such structures and further development strategies to be made on populations.

The third day we had papers on population structures of tribes from both social and physical anthropologists under the chairmenship of Dr.U.P.Sinha and Dr.M.Suryanarayana. Earlier at the outset the special lecture delivered by Prof. N.S.Reddy on 'Social demography in India: Need for microlevel studies' was well taken and appreciated by the gathering. The populations covered in these sessions were Chenchus, Saoras, Jatapus and Yerukulas of Andhra Pradesh; and the Garasia of Rajasthan. In these two sessions of the last day, i.e., today, much attention was paid on demographic variables like fertility and mortality. All the members of the house expressed their keen desire that the result of sustained researches should help the studied populations. And thus, the exercise is now over. And we have to follow it up to maintain vigorous health in our academics. Let us hope we meet again somewhere like this and continue the academic exercise together.

I would like to express my deep felt thanks to each one of you for your kind participation and deliberations in this National Seminar. My sincere thanks are to: (1) Calcutta team: Prof. Amitabha Basu and Dr. Rangan Gupta; (2) Bombay team: Dr.U.P.Sinha and Dr.V.R.Rao; (3) Madras team: Prof. Subba Reddy and Dr.Ramesh;(4) Vizag team: Dr. Narahari, Dr.Jaikishan and Dr.V.L.N. Rao; (5) Triupati team: Prof. Rami Reddy, Dr.Suryanarayana, Dr.Govinda Reddy, Dr.Gangadar, Dr.Deep Kumar and Mr.Ramachandra Reddy; (6) the team of members representing Government of India: Dr.Srivastava, Trivandrum; Dr.Lalit Kumar Kashyap, Delhi; and Dr.T.S.Murthy, Madras; besides, Dr.Sahu, Sambalpur University, Dr.Ramesh Chandra, Anthropological Survey of India, Udaipur and Dr.A.P.Singh, Lucknow University. The very fact that you have come all the way from your places, knowing fully well about the Ooty climate in this December, makes us deeply appreciate your academic interest. I sincerely thank all of you once again for the same.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

Amitabha Basu.

Mr.Chairman Sir, and gentlemen. It is a pleasure and pleasant task to deliver the valedictory address for the National Seminar on 'Population structures among Tribes'. I shall however be very brief and

shall not speak for a long time. What one really wants to do in a valedictory address is to bring up the major points that emerge from the presentation of papers and the deliberations of the seminar and then perhaps, at the end I may present a few points of my own.

The first and the foremost point I would like to make is that I am very much impressed by the amount of data presented and the enthusiastic and sharp reactions of the participants, especially from the younger generations which is a very happy sign indeed. This is probably one of the very few seminars of this kind in India, I can think of, in which the average age of the participants is well below 40 and much of the instantaneous reactions came from the younger generations. The younger generation have come out with sharp reactions; we may not agree with all of them. It is a very healthy sign in any gathering of this kind that disagreements do crop up and through these diagreements, probably, we progress much more than through agreements. If we all agree on every point, then we would not have made any progress, at all.

Apart from several other things, I would like to mention the following major points that have emerged from the deliberations of the seminar.

1. We have now examined population structures of several groups, though not all the groups in the country. From this, we now realise that the population structures of different groups in the country are exceedingly complicated and complex. There are various dimensions to the problem. There are various aspects that apparently may seem unimportant and irrelevant but which may contribute to the formulation of population structures. These aspects we must study from the population genetical point of view as well as from the view point of human well-being which I mentioned in my special lecture. This point has raised a lot of controversy but nevertheless, this point came up repeatedly during the discussions.

2. The second important point that emerged in the seminar is assigning priorities to our studies keeping in view the overall social context, social needs and things of that kind in the country. Question of priorities have come up again and again. We are nowhere near resolution of this problem. Even then, if we look back to anthropology as it was practised some 25 years ago or even 10 years back by most of us, this question of priorities, question of ethics, question of what we should do in the national context never occurred to us. But these days especially in this seminar, most of the partcipants, speakers, directly or indirectly, talked about priorities which means to me that anthropology in India is coming of age. It is natural and it is time to look at its own social responsibilities in the context of national problem. It is very important to say that this problem has come up not only from the representatives of the Government, but also from the academic people. It means, I would repeat, that anthropology in India is coming of age.

3. Thirdly, we are now becoming more and more aware of the limitations of our techniques in the field of demography or in any other field. We have here fortunately a competent demographer with us who has very

rightly repeatedly pointed to us the errors and limitations of our techniques. Although the dialogue is not over, we are grateful to demo-grapher-cum-statistician-cum-anthropologist, Dr.U.P.Sinha, International Institute for Population Studies, Bombay, for reminding us our limitations. It is not only in the field of demography but in very many other fields, the techniques are not very sharp. We have to sharpen them.

4. Then, the question of micro-level studies has come up and also in the special lecture by Prof. N.S. Reddy. It is very important that this question has come up in a special lecture categorically and this point also came up in some form or the other in several papers presented. As I see it, micro-level study is the speciality of anthropology. And now that we are thinking of how to apply this special methodological tool of anthropology to the wider social contexts, priority studies; we are nearing the successful achievement of our target. The question of micro-level study, of course, comes up in any anthropological study, but here I suppose Prof. Reddy with some very clear illustrations showed us how micro-level studies could be of considerable importance in a wider context.

5. Finally, I would repeat because I am very much impressed that the younger generation has made its mark in a conference of this kind and we the older people should be thankful to them.

I have very little to add to the points already made, except that we should follow up the point that has been said in the seminar to sharpen our tools as well as formulate our questions and hypotheses in testable forms. We may have many questions but the training of anthropology unfortunately has been, atleast when I was a student, of a very vague nature. I went to the field to study a population without knowing what I was trying to look at. We did not know what questions we were asking. I was told to go to the field and collect data. So collected some data and I did not know what to do with that data. But now I tell my students that before you go to the field you select your area of interest and then prepare yourself through library work and then go to the field, live with the people so that you have the feel of the problem; then come back to the lab or department and formulate the problem in a manner that you can test your hypothesis, approach your problem with some testable hypothesis. We have to do like this and as very correctly pointed out by speakers who preceded me. We have to do this in collaboration with especially demographers. Demography and anthropology are very close. We have already borrowed several demographic methods and we shall be doing this more and more in future. In the field of biological anthropology we have to do this in collaboration with medical scientists, for instance, epidemiologists and others; in the field of cultural anthropology in collaboration with linguists, historians etc; eventually we have to reformulate anthropology. The whole approach of anthropology as a multidisciplinary discipline in which the inputs from very many different disciplines, biochemical, molecular biology on the one hand, linguistics, folklore, history on the other, and statistical techniques, for instance, on the other.

With these few words, I thank the organisers on my personal behalf

and on behalf of all of you for taking care of us very well. A lot of hard labour has gone into the organisation of this seminar. I thank them for organising this seminar so well and hope that we shall keep doing such exercises in the future and that the Centre would be a host to bring us back here again.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

N.Subba Reddy

I congratulate the organisers of this seminar who could collect so many scholars from different parts of the country, from Calcutta in the east, Bombay in the west, Delhi, Lucknow and Dehra Dun in the north and Trivandrum in the south. I find several institutions and universities represented here by a team of enthusiastic participants. A common sight in a seminar is that about 50% of the delegates absent themselves and about 50% of the delegates present are found sleeping in the course of a seminar. I am very happy to state that very enthusiastic and committed participants have gathered here and I have not found a single person absenting or sleeping during the course of the seminar.

The participants have covered the seminar subject from many angles and covered several ethnic groups, Bhotias, Kinners in the north; Pahiras and Sherpas in the east, right up to Cōḷanāicken in the South, and so many communities of Andhra Pradesh. The papers as well as the deliberations of the seminar have clearly brought out the multi-disciplinarity of the subject--ecological, environmental, food resources, economic, demographic and genetical dimensions of the subject. As Prof. Basu was indicating, we have to take, and we have already been taking, the approaches and findings from the other disciplines. This seminar clearly demonstrated how we have been trying to integrate different disciplines for clear understanding of the objects of our study.

Going back into the history in time and space: I should congratulate the dynamic Vice-Chancellor of the Tamil University who has filled a great gap and answered the pressing need by organising the Tribal Research Centre here. While almost all the State governments have started Tribal Research Centres, the Tamil Nadu government was playing hide and seek in starting a Tribal Research Centre in the State. In the face of this evasion and even possible resistance, the dynamic Vice-Chancellor of the Tamil University has taken upon himself the task of organising the Tribal Research Centre with assistance from the Central Government.

When I first heard about the Tamil University, I thought that it would be a very old fashioned university

teaching and doing research only in Tamil language, literature, grammar, linguistics and perhaps Tamil history. But the imaginative Vice-Chancellor has thought of so many other subjects and gave special importance to anthropology and anthropological research and stationed this centre at Ooty which is a veritable scene and a living museum of cultures.

Coming to the organisers, I am very happy that Dr.D.V.Raghava Rao who, very soon after his taking over as Director of this Centre, could organise this National Seminar successfully, placing this Centre on the all India map of anthropology. I could see how the whole team worked in good co-operation. It could augur very well for the future progress of the TRC as could be seen from the full co-operation and dynamism of all the academic and administrative staff of the Centre. I hope, as I said in the very beginning, that this kind of seminars would be repeating themselves every year and I congratulate the organisers for the successful conduct of the seminar.

BOOK REVIEW

Bruno DAGENS, *Entre Alampur Et Srisaila m: Recherches archaeologiques en Andhra Pradesh* (Institut Francais D'indologie, Pondichery, 1984).

This book *(Between Alampur and Srisailam: Archaeological Researches in Andhra Pradesh)* embodies the results of a thorough and methodical survey by Professor Bruno DAGENS for about three years (May 1978 to March 1981) in the historical archaeology of a part of Andhra Pradesh to be submerged for ever in the waters of a big artificial lake being created by the construction of the Srisailam dam across the river Kṛṣna. It is one of very few works of such magnitude undertaken in the field. The Professor surveyed a total of 114 sites strewn over a quadrilateral area of about 250 square km around the confluence of the Kṛṣṇa and the Tungabhadra. This area has a variety of landscape containing both irrigated and dry zones. There existed no remarkable political centre in the region in ancient times, whereas the Raichur Doab to the west and the Godavari-Krsna Delta to the east were centres of intense political activities. From about two hundred and odd inscriptions available in this area, three major periods of cultural activities may be discerned: 1. The peak phase of the Chalukyas of Kalyana (1031-1126), the last phase of the Kakatiya dynasty (1286-1326) and the Aravidu or the IV dynasty of Vijayanagar (1566- 1600). The earliest temples of this region date however from the 7th century itself.

The work is published in two volumes, the first volume containing the text and the second containing detailed illustrations. part I of the first volume deals with the architectural typology and iconography. It is said that the masons here were not so creative. They mostly reproduced classical forms. In the field of iconography some interesting information has been brought out. The people of this area were predominantly Saivite from early times. Visnu icons start appearing only from the 13th century A.D. In fact temples dedicated to Visnu were built in good number only during and after the Vijayanagar times. From the beginning the icons of goddesses, particularly those of mahiṣā-suramardini are found in large number. A separate chapter is devoted to 'pillar iconography' which is a special feature of this work.

The study region is divided into three sub-regions and monuments in each of these sub-regions are treated in separate chapters. About 450 cult places are described in detail with associated plans. An interesting result that emerges from a statistical analysis of these cult places is that next to Śiva and Viṣṇu, Āñjanēya is the most sought-after God now. Among the minor gods he alone has a separate cult. The temples of the village goddesses, ever though numerous, are unobtrusive structures as everywhere in South India. Curiously there are certain cult places dedicated to Caṇḍēśa and Kaṇṇappar also, which were obviously migrants from Tamil Nadu.

It is rather heartening to see the results of the survey published so quickly and neatly. This should be an eyeopener to big professional

organizations in India which have been undertaking such surveys for many decades now without yet divulging the secrets of their work to the public.

Y.Subbarayalu

BOOK REVIEW

VIRAHA-BHAKTI: THE EARLY HISTORY OF KRSNA DEVOTION IN SOUTH INDIA by Friedhelm Hardy (Oxford University Press, Delhi), Pages:692.Price Rs.250/-

Prof.Hardy's fourteen years of religio-cultural investigations confirm the following views: (i) *Viraha-Bhakti* means the divine separation of the *gopīs* from Kṛṣṇa. This mystical separation is imbued with aesthetic, erotic and ecstatic features. The *gopīs* express the agony of separation because Lord Kṛṣṇa left for Mathura but neglects to return. This esoteric theme originates and developes during the first millennium A.D., through the epics, *puranas* and *Nālāyirativyapirapantam (NTP)*. (ii) The emotional Kṛṣna *Bhakti* (EKB) appears for the first time in the *Bhāgavatha Purāṇam* (BhP). Perhaps it was derived from the *NTP*.

To elucidate the standpoints, the author divides the book into six parts. In each part, he carefully introduces the problem with necessary information and concludes the discussion successfully. He logically approaches the central crux through the multifarious discussions along with the thematic frame-work. The contents, the illustrations and the maps are closely related to the main subject. They are properly placed for easy reference. Especially the maps guide one to understand the geographical distribution of the temples. They help to know the historical and the environmental background for the development of the religious trends. After reading the book thoroughly, a reader can recollect the whole subject even by reference to the tables alone. The guide-lines provided for the translations of the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil help to study the original sources. The preface shows the author's tireless efforts to complete a stupendous task. The list of primary as well as secondary sources enable the readers to widen their knowledge. The appendices serve as the main strand because the author refers to the supported materials.

The first part of the book gives a general introduction to the whole discussion. He deals with the history of the phenomenon and the method of approach. He rightly explains the importance of the theme by discriminating it from its allied fields. He also methodically formulates the basic ground for the discussions of EKB, so that the dire need of the subject to the society is pointed out.

The second part of the book elucidates the origin and the development of the EKB through the myths and *purāṇas* in North India. The method of discussion shows the author's deep insight. He not only rejects wrong judgements but also

expresses the development of the EKB upto the BhP. The author critically rejects unnecessary arguments. So by a careful analysis, he points out that the North Indian scriptures are not the basis for development of EKB. On the other hand he considers the Soul Indian religious scripture as the source of that development.

The third part deals with the Kṛṣṇaism in Caṅkam Literature (C L). He analyses the relation of the southern poetic culture with the Kṛṣṇa concept. Chronologically the author categorizes CL into four separate groups. In the first group, the author describes Kṛṣṇa in three different patterns, i.e., Kṛṣṇa as king, Kṛṣṇa as in religion and Kṛṣṇa as in secular poems. In the second group, he refers to Māyōṉ as the god of 'jasmine landscape'. In the third group, he relates Kṛṣṇaism with the folk culture. In the fourth group, he explains the origin and the development of Vaiṣṇavism. This group explains the development of the concept of Transcendental Absolute. In this group the EKB and the feeling of separation are totally absent.

The fourth part critically reviews the *NTP*. Through the discussions, the author verifies the following judgements: (i) the mythological union in EKB involves the yogic medium to realize the existence of Brahman as Antariyāmin. (ii) Nammāḻvār, Periyāḻvār and Āṇṭāḷ and Pāṇḍiya Kingdom with Mathura as its capital have played a major role in the development of Southern Kṛṣṇaism. (iii) the affinity of Tamil culture with the Vedic heritage is pointed out.

The fifth part treats the *BhP* as a South Indian text. According to the author's opinion, the *BhP* is derived from Nammāḻvār's mystic poems. The geographical descriptions, linguistic evidences, allied philosophical concepts and prophecy of the Tamil saints point out the intimacy between the *BhP* and the *NTP*. The author traces back the CL and the *NTP* and fixes the date of the *BhP* as 9th or early 10th century A.D.

The sixth part compares the EKB with the Christian Ecstatic Sectarian Movement. The Spanish Mystics, Roman Llull Juan de la Cruz and Ignatius, have contributed much for the movement. Through the comparison, the author evaluates the erotic and aesthetic feelings to transform from the phenomenal level to noumenal level. He also compares the main theme with the theology of St.John. He suggests the emotional feelings as a spiritual medium to unite with the Ultimatum. In the end, he compares the EKB with the ideas of J.P.Satre and I.M. Lewis. By comparing the EKB with the ideas of Satre, he defines emotions as a path to apprehend the world as it is. In other words, through emotion one can dominate and overcome the drastic situations of the wordly order. By comparing the EKB with the ideas of Lewis,he views ecstasy as the psychological solution to the emotional tensions. Thus the author concludes that the emotion is the pre-requisite for a man to transcend himself from worldly affairs.

While going through the book, no one denies the deprivation to grasp the central theme. For that the following opinions may be suggested:

1. The author might have thought that the readers may not have sufficient intellectual background about

the field. To emphasize his views, he elaborates the discussions with countless references. In one way it could be appreciated but in another way it is difficult to grasp the main stuff.

2. Through the discussions the author traces the origin and the development of the EKB. Due to his wide knowledge he elaborates the background itself, itsead of codifying it. This leads to intellectual abstinence to understand the subject.

3. Throughout the book, the author profusely quotes from the originals. This is exhaustive and makes dull reading. He could have cut short the quotations to present a lucid account of the subject.

4. The author completes his task without devoting a chapter to deal with the relevance of the subject to the modern age. Had he done so the psychological as well as the theological applications could have been drawn.

In a nutshell, the book is highly analytical, informative and brilliant, but it appears to be voluminous due to its extensive quotations.

J.RANGASWAMI

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